

# THE KINGS OF KINDA

OF

THE FAMILY OF ĀKIL AL-MURĀR

BY

GUNNAR OLINDER

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BY DUE PERMISSION OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY OF LUND  
TO BE PUBLICLY DISCUSSED IN LECTURE HALL VII  
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## PREFACE.

When studying the poems of Imru' ul-Qays I was introduced into the confusion of legends, wound round the names of him and his ancestors, the princes of Kinda of the family of Ākil al-murār. An attempt to arrange these legends and to compare them with known historical facts is here presented.

On this occasion it may be allowed to me to express my great gratitude to my teacher in Semitic languages, Professor AXEL MOBERG, for the interest and the great benevolence that he has manifested in many ways towards me.

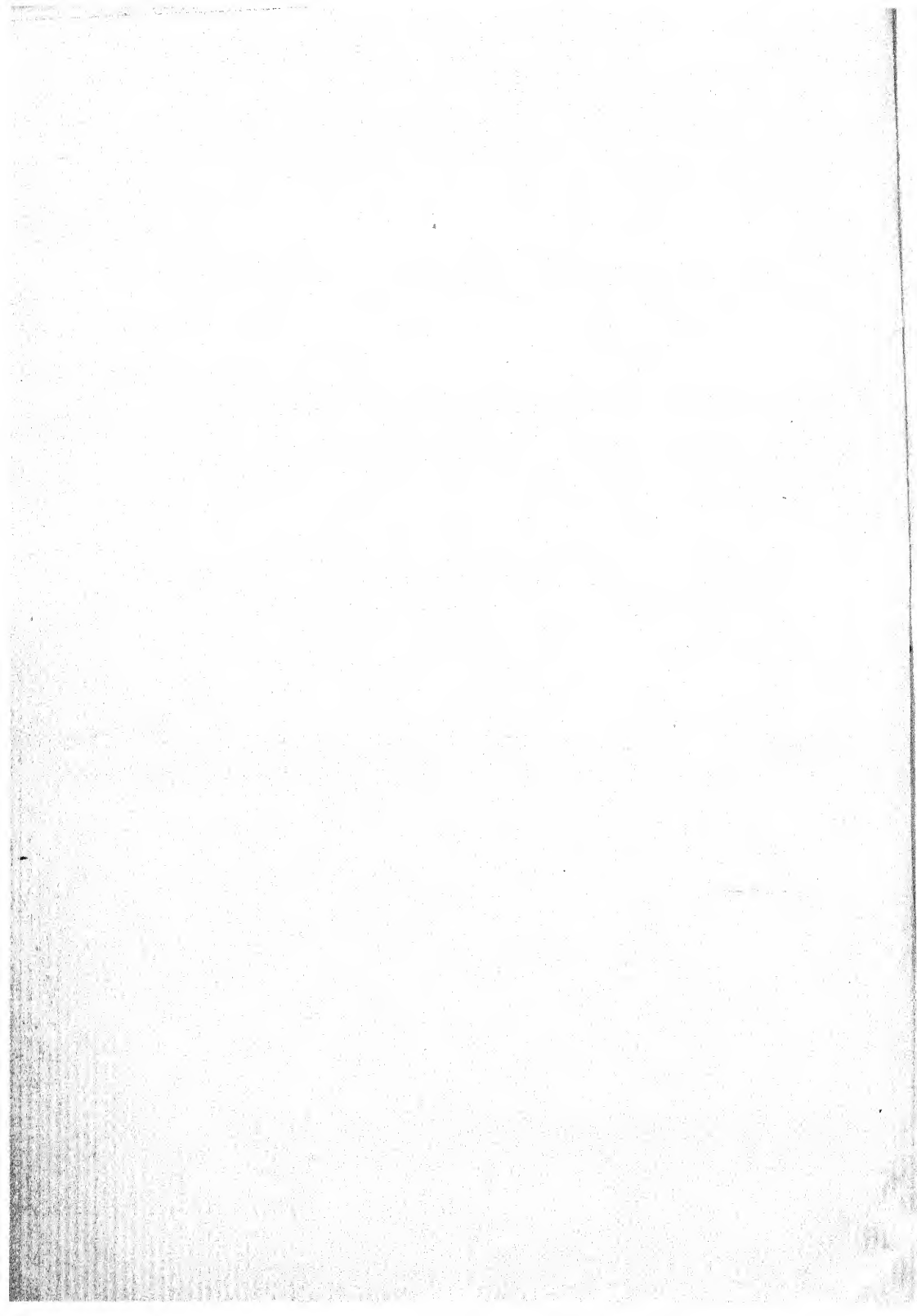
To my wife VERA OLINDER I want here to offer my sincere thanks for all her work in translating and transcribing the copy and for her valuable assistance in reading the proofs of this paper.

Further I have to thank the librarians and staff of the University Library of Lund for valuable help and ready courtesy.

To Mr. E. L. RUSSELL, Lektor at the University of Lund, I finally wish to express my thanks for a revision of the copy from the point of view of language.

Lund, May 1927.

*Gunnar Olinder.*





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### List of abbreviations.

'Abd al-Qādir, Hiz.	'Abd al-Qādir, Hizānat al-adab wa-lubb lubāb lisān al-'arab, Būlāq 1299 H.
Abū-l-Fidā'	Abulfedae historia anteislamica . . . ed. H. O. FLEISCHER, Lipsiae 1831.
Ag.	Abū-l-Farağ, Kitāb al-Aḡānī, Bd. 1—20 Būlāq 1285 H., Bd. 21, ed. RUD. E. BRÜNNOW, Leyden 1888.
AHLW.	The Divans of the six ancient Arabic poets . . . ed. by W. AHLWARDT, London 1870.
App.	AHLW. Appendix.
al-Azraqi	Kitāb aḥbār Makka, Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka, I, hrsg. von F. WÜSTENFELD, Leipzig 1858.
b.	Ibn.
B.	The Banū.
DE SLANE, Amro'lkaïs	Le diwan d'Amro'lkaïs par le B <sup>on</sup> M. G. DE SLANE, Paris 1837.
ad-Dīnawarī	Abū Ḥanifa ad-Dīnawarī, Kitāb al-aḥbār at-ṭiwāl publ. par VL. GUIRGASS, Leide 1888.
Diw.	Diwān.
Fihrist	Kitāb al-Fihrist mit Anmerkungen, herausgeg. von G. FLÜGEL, Leipzig 1871—2.
Ġamhara	Ġamharat aš'ār al-'arab, Būlāq 1308 H.
GLASER, Zwei Inschriften	EDUARD GLASER, Zwei Inschriften über den Dammbruch von Mārib, Mitt. d. Vorderas. Gesellsch., Berlin 1897.
al-Hamdānī (Hamd.)	Geographie der Arabischen Halbinsel hrsg. von D. H. MÜLLER, Leiden 1884—91.
Hamza	Hamzae Ispahanensis annalium libri X. Ed. J. M. E. GOTTWALDT, Petrop.-Lipsiae 1844.
HARTMANN, Arab. Frage	M. HARTMANN, Die arabische Frage, Der islamische Orient II, Leipzig 1909.
Hist. Joct.	Historia Joctanidarum, ed. SCHULTENS, Hard. Gelr. 1786.
Hiz.	'Abd al-Qādir, Hizānat al-adab wa-lubb lubāb lisān al-'arab, Būlāq 1299 H.

- Ibn al-Aṭīr (I. A.) Ibn el-Athiri Chronicon quod perfectissimum (el-Kāmil) inscribitur. Ed. C. J. TORNBURG, Lugd. Bat. 1851—76.
- Ibn Badrūn Commentaire historique sur le poème d'Ibn-Abdoun par Ibn Badroun p. p. R. P. A. DOZY, Leyde 1846.
- Ibn Durayd Abu Bekr Muhammed ben al-Ḥasan Ibn Doraid's genealogisch-etymologisches Handbuch, hrsg. von F. WÜSTENFELD, Göttingen 1854.
- Ibn Ḥaldūn (I. Ḥ.) Ibn Ḥaldūn, Kitāb al-'Ibar, Būlāq 1284 H.
- Ibn Hišām Das Leben Muhammeds nach Muhammed ibn Ishāq, bearb. von 'Abd el-Malik ibn Hishām; hrsg. von F. WÜSTENFELD, Göttingen 1858—60.
- Ibn Nubāta Šarḥ risālat Ibn Zaydūn (in RASMUSSEN, Add.).
- Ibn Qutayba (I. Q.), Ma'ārif Ibn Coteiba's Handbuch der Geschichte, hrsg. von F. WÜSTENFELD, Göttingen 1850.
- Ibn Qutayba (I. Q.), Šī'r Ibn Cotaiba, Liber poësis et poëtarum, ed. M. J. DE GOEJE, Lugduni Batavorum 1904.
- Imr. Diw. The Diwān of Imru' ul-Qays. The Divans of the six ancient Arabic poets... ed. by W. AHLWARDT, London 1870.
- 'Iqd Ibn 'Abd-rabbihi al-Andalūsī, al-'Ikd al-farīd, Cairo 1305 H.
- Joshua the Stylite The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite, ed. W. WRIGHT, Cambridge 1882.
- J. R. A. S. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- MITTWOCH, E. MITTWOCH, Proelia Arabum paganorum, Berlin 1899.
- Muf. The commentary of al-Anbārī on the Mufaḍḍaliyāt, ed. CH. LYALL, Beyrout 1921.
- Naq. The Naqā'id of Jarir and al-Farazdaq ed. by A. A. BEVAN, Leiden 1905—07.
- Naq. I. Naq. p. 452—461.
- Naq. II. Naq. p. 1072—79.
- an-Nuwayrī Nihāyat al-'Arab fi funūn al-adab (in Hist. Joct.)
- NÖLDEKE, Ghassāniden TH. NÖLDEKE, Die Ghassānischen Fürsten aus dem Hause Ġafna's (Abhandlungen d. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin, 1887.
- NÖLDEKE, Sasaniden TH. NÖLDEKE, Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden, Leiden 1879.
- NÖLDEKE-Studien Orientalische Studien TH. NÖLDEKE gewidmet, Gieszen 1906.
- O.L.Z. Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung.
- RASMUSSEN, Add. Additamenta ad historiam Arabum, ed. J. L. RASMUSSEN, Havniae 1821.
- RASMUSSEN, Hist. Historia praecipuorum Arabum regnorum, ed. J. L. RASMUSSEN, Havniae 1817.

- ROTHSTEIN G. ROTHSTEIN, Die Dynastie der Lahmiden in al-Ḥira, Berlin 1899.
- SPRENGER, Alte Geogr. A. SPRENGER, Die alte Geographie Arabiens als Grundlage der Entwicklungsgeschichte des Semitismus, Bern 1875.
- aṭ-Ṭabarī (Ṭab.) Annales auctore Abu Djafar Mohammed Ibn Djarir Aṭ-Ṭabari, edd. ... et M. J. DE GOEJE, Lugd. Bat. 1879—1901.
- al-Ya'qūbī Ibn Wādhilī qui dicitur al-Ya'qubī Historiæ ed. M. TH. HOUTSMA, Lugd. Bat. 1883.
- Yāqūt Jacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch, hrsg. F. WÜSTENFELD, Leipzig 1866—73.
- Z.D.M.G. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
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## Introduction.

The errors with regard to method and results in A. P. CAUSSIN DE PERCEVAL, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, Paris 1847, that grand but impossible endeavour to obtain a reliable historical account of Arabia and the Arabs before al-Islam by collecting all the available traditions concerning pre-Mohammedan Arabia and by attempting to reconcile their often incompatible contradictions, have often been pointed out. Never has however any attempt been made to substitute for this work a critical exposition of what in those traditions can be proved to be actual information about circumstances and persons before Mohammed, what is probable but still waits for confirmation by discoveries of inscriptions or newly found sources, and what must be regarded as forgeries.

As preparations for such a gigantic work, which would once become a real history of Arabia or rather of the Arabian tribes, the monographs on special kingdoms, tribes, and chiefs that have appeared at long intervals, are to be considered. After TH. NÖLDEKE in the notes on his translation from the annals of at-Tabarī, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden 1879, for a comparison with at-Tabarī's version — based on Ibn al-Kalbī — of the history of al-Hīra, has taken up and discussed Arabian traditions from other sources as well as the Greek and Syriac notices of the princes of Laḥm, Ḡassān and Kinda mentioned there, he has in a special work, *Die Ghassānischen Fürsten aus dem Hause Ḡafna's* (*Abhandlungen d. k. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin* 1887), treated the history of the Ḡassānite vassal state under Byzantium in a methodically accomplished way, which has set a standard for subsequent works. The two principal rules are then: chronological statements are to be derived from non-Arabian sources, and: the ancient Arabian

poetry is the principal Arabian source. On the whole, most importance is attached to the non-Arabian evidences, and the Arabian tradition is placed last and has to prove its trustworthiness by a comparison with dates and facts previously known. This method has been used by G. ROTHSTEIN in »Die Dynastie der Laḥmiden in al-Ḥira», Berlin 1899, to deduce the history of the Laḥmite vassal state under Persia, and B. MORITZ has, in »Der Sinaikultus in heidnischer Zeit» (Abhandlungen d. k. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., N. F. 16, Berlin 1917), p. 50—53, treated the history of the princes of Qudā'a on the same principles. Only partially similar to the works just mentioned is a treatise by E. BRÄUNLICH, Bistām ibn Qais, ein vorislamischer Beduinenfürst und Held, Leipzig 1923, that deals with a person unknown to non-Arabian authors, for which reason the only sources are Arabian poems and traditions.

Apart from this latter treatise, all the monographs mentioned here have occupied themselves with just the persons and tribes that have come most into contact with Byzantium and Persia and on account of that have been associated with the history of these countries. The present treatise is only an attempt to take a further step into the wilderness of Arabian tradition without leaving the support of the Greek and Syriac sources and, often referring to results obtained through the said investigations, to give an account of another Arabian family of princes, that of Ākil al-murār of Kinda, in history and tradition. The story of the life of its most famous member, the fugitive prince and poet Imru' ul-Qays, is given without further entering on his poems and his literary importance, and in an abridged form, as only those of his adventures are considered, where he is acting as a prince of Kinda, seeking vengeance for his father and trying to reestablish the collapsed power of his family.

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## CHAPTER I.

### The sources of the history of Kinda before al-Islām.

Byzantine as well as Syriac literature proves to be exceedingly destitute of material for the history of the princes of Kinda. The information that is to be derived from these quarters confines itself to the notices, important, it is true, but extremely scanty, given by Nonnosus<sup>1</sup>, Procopius<sup>2</sup>, John Malalas<sup>3</sup> and Theophanes<sup>4</sup> and to a short mention in the chronicle of Joshua the Stylite<sup>5</sup>. Even though there is not much more to be gathered from these notices than simple chronological statements, the importance of these cannot be overestimated. It is exactly on this point that we are practically absolutely unable to do anything with the Arabian sources. To any determinations of time, founded on the calculations of Arabian genealogists, cannot be attached any importance, before, after having been compared with inscriptions or reliable, non-Arabian sources, they have been proved to come up to the mark.

Among the exceedingly rich but unfortunately equally unreliable Arabian sources the evidences of the ancient poets are justly given the first place.

Not even the poems however can inspire any feeling of certainty. There is always a chance of forgery. The whole poem or verse may be of a far later date than pretended, or a name or important word in an otherwise authentic verse may have been given a misleading form in the mouth of the reciter or by the

<sup>1</sup> *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, coll. C. MULLERUS, vol. 4, Paris 1851.

<sup>2</sup> *Opera omnia*, rec. J. HAURY, Lipsiæ 1905—13, vol. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Patrologiæ cursus*, Series Græca, acc. J.-P. MIGNE, tom. 97, Paris 1860.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibm.* tom. 108, Paris 1861.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. W. WRIGHT, Cambridge 1882.



hand of the copyist. Therefore the question of authenticity can never be answered absolutely in the affirmative, even though, no doubt, most of the poetry considered as pre-Mohammedan is authentic<sup>1</sup>. The poems that have reference to the princes of Kinda are first of all those ascribed to them, especially to Imru' ul-Qays<sup>2</sup> and in the next place part of those of 'Abid b. al-Abras<sup>3</sup>. Further the mu'allaqa of al-Hārit b. Hilliza and two or three other poems have celebrated the memory of one or other of them.

Lastly we come to the Arabian prose sources, which we can divide into tales of ayyām al-'arab, commentaries, biographies, chronicles, and geographical works.

Oldest and, as regards their value, next to the poems is the first group, the tales of ayyām al-'arab, the »days» of the Arabs, tales, interlarded with poems and genealogical expositions, of great or small fights between the Arabs before Mohammed, which have descended from one generation to another, an oral tradition that has been recorded without any attempt to put its different parts together, without any intention to furnish an historical account, but, exactly because of that, of the greater value. It may be that these tales in the course of time have been rather much altered and their trustworthiness rather problematic, there must however have been, and, as a rule, there still remains, a skeleton of truth, round which the tale has been built up. In any case they are, together with the poems, the most original sources, and are often included, or made use of, in the historical works of a later date. In his treatise *Proelia Arabum paganorum*, Berlin 1899, E. MITTWOCH puts forth how the first collections of tales of ayyām al-'arab unfortunately lost, no doubt for ever, are now preserved in extracts in later authors. For an investigation of the tradition regarding the fights of Kinda the loss of Ibn al-Kalbi's *Kitāb al-Kulāb*

<sup>1</sup> With regard to this question: see D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, *The origin of Arabic poetry* (J. R. A. S. 1925, p. 417—49), and E. BRÄUNLICH, *Zur Frage der Echtheit der altarabischen Poesie* (O. L. Z. 1926, p. 825—33), and of course the old standardworks: TH. NÖLDEKE, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Araber*, Hannover 1864, and W. AHLWARDT, *Bemerkungen über die Ächtheit der alten Arabischen Gedichte*, Greifswald 1872.

<sup>2</sup> In *The Divans of the six ancient Arabic poets*, ed. W. AHLWARDT, London 1870.

<sup>3</sup> ed. Ch. LYALL, Leyden-London 1913.



al-awwal wa-l-Kulāb at-tānī (Fihrist, p. 98) is particularly to be regretted, and of course also the loss of Abū 'Ubayda's Kitāb al-ayyām (Fihrist, p. 54), which however have been frequently used by later collectors and important parts of which therefore still remain in extracts<sup>1</sup>. The works, where the remains of these tales of ayyām al-'arab are now to be found are, as regards Kinda, especially the following ones.

The commentary of al-Anbārī on the Mufaḍḍaliyāt<sup>2</sup> has, p. 427—441, taken a long tale<sup>3</sup> probably from the above-mentioned work of Ibn al-Kalbī, Kitāb al-Kulāb al-awwal, and in the same manner the commentary, based on Abū 'Ubayda, on Naqā'id Ġarīr wa-l-Farazdaq<sup>4</sup>, p. 452—461 and 1072—79.

In al-'Iqd al-farīd, (Bulāq 1305 H.) III: 77 f., Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi gives a short summary of Abū 'Ubayda's account of the battle of al-Kulāb al-awwal.

Also in Abū l-Faraġ, Kitāb al-aġānī (Bd 1—20 Bulāq 1285 H., Bd 21, ed. BRÜNNOW, Leyden 1888 A. D.) tales of ayyām al-'arab are met with. The battle of al-Kulāb al-awwal, from Abū 'Ubayda, has been included in XI: 64<sub>1</sub>—66<sub>16</sub>, and another of the »days« of the princes of Kinda, that of al-Baradān, is related in XV in two versions, p. 86<sub>6</sub>—87<sub>19</sub>, from Ibn al-Kalbī, and 87<sub>19</sub>—88<sub>10</sub> from Abū 'Ubayda.

Ibn al-Aṭīr has in Kitāb al-kāmil fi-t-ta'rīḥ<sup>5</sup> not contented himself with the few descriptions of ayyām al-'arab that his model at-Ṭabarī has included, but has from other quarters<sup>6</sup>, chiefly Kitāb al-Aġānī, drawn a whole division Ayyām al-'arab fi-l-ġāhiliya (I: 367—517), which, in addition to the genuine tales of ayyām al-'arab about al-Baradān (p. 370—74) and al-Kulāb al-awwal (p. 406—8), also (p. 374—382) contains a reproduction of Kitāb al-aġānī's version of the history of Imru' ul-Qays and his ancestors (Aġ. VIII: 62—74).

Also 'Abd al-Qādir, Ḥizānat al-adab, Bulāq 1299 H., has, II: 500 f.,

<sup>1</sup> See below and MITTWOCH.

<sup>2</sup> ed. LYALL, Beyrout 1921.

<sup>3</sup> first published in Orientalische Studien Th. NÖLDEKE gewidmet I, Gieszen 1906.

<sup>4</sup> ed. BEVAN, Leiden 1905—07.

<sup>5</sup> Chronicon, ed. C. J. TORNBURG, Lugd. Bat. 1851—76.

<sup>6</sup> See MITTWOCH p. 33.

an account of the battle of al-Kulāb al-awwal, based on al-'Askari and Ibn Durayd and, that as well, going back to Ibn al-Kalbī.

Even though the traditions from pre-Mohammedan times appear in their most original form in the tales of ayyām al-'arab, the very material for the other, more secondary, prose sources is partially these same traditions and others of the same age and often transmitted the same way.

The first group of these secondary sources, the commentaries on the ancient poems, cannot claim any very high value as independent historical sources. The information supplied beyond the purely lexicographic and philologic statements is often to be considered as a last resort made use of, when a verse or a situation, depicted in a poem, had to be explained à tout prix, and of any real importance, only when it is based on some old tradition not derived from the verse. Their greatest value from an historical point of view is, when, as e. g. the commentary of al-Anbārī on the Mufaḍḍaliyāt and that of Abū 'Ubayda on the Naqā'id (see above), they communicate rather long, continuous extracts from tales of ayyām al-'arab from reliable informants.

The commentaries on the diwān of Imru' ul-Qays by al-A'lam aš-Šantamūrī<sup>1</sup> and Abū Bakr 'Āsim b. Ayūb al-Baṭalyūsī<sup>2</sup> together with the superscriptions in the manuscripts Paris Suppl. 1425, Gotha 547 and Leyden WARNER 901 (Cat. Dozy 530)<sup>3</sup>, based for the most part on al-Ašma'ī and on the whole in accordance with each other, contain a far from inconsiderable amount of information, which however for the most part is to be found in Kitāb al-aḡānī.

Of commentaries on the poems of later poets, the parts just mentioned of the commentary of al-Anbārī on the Mufaḍḍaliyāt and of that of Abū 'Ubayda on the Naqā'id are the most important. Ibn Badrūn furnishes in his commentary<sup>4</sup> on Ibn 'Abdūn's qaṣīda, verse 16, some extracts, often literal, from the tales of

<sup>1</sup> MS Paris Suppl. 1424 (Cat. DE SLANE 3274), published in extracts by DE SLANE in the notes in *Le diwan d'Amro'lkaïs par le B<sup>on</sup> M. G. DE SLANE*, Paris 1837.

<sup>2</sup> Cairo 1308 H. (reprinted 1324 H. = 1906 A. D.).

<sup>3</sup> Published in AHLW., p. 220—223.

<sup>4</sup> *Commentaire Historique sur le poème d'Ibn-Abdoun par Ibn-Badrūn*, publ. par R. P. A. Dozy, Leyde 1846.

ayyām al-ʿarab of older works. Abū ʿAbdallāh b. Hiṣām has in his commentary on the Maqṣūra of Ibn Durayd<sup>1</sup>, verse 33, a short passage on Imruʿ ul-Qays not without interest in spite of all its evident errors and an inferior text.

To this class of sources we may lastly assign also the commentary of Ibn Nubāta on the letter of Ibn Zaydūn to Ibn ʿAbdūs<sup>2</sup> which, p. 38 f., has an extract from a tale of ayyām al-ʿarab.

Of the biographical works it is only the biographies of poets that occupy themselves with princes of Kinda. In Muḥammad b. Sallām al-Ġumāhī, *Ṭabaqāt aš-šūʿarāʾ*<sup>3</sup>, p. 13—16, there are some notices of Imruʿ ul-Qays, which however chiefly consider only his qualities as a poet. On page 70 f. he is mentioned again in connection with the Jewish poet as-Samawʿal.

Ibn Qutayba devotes in *Kitāb aš-šiʿr wa-š-šūʿarāʾ*<sup>4</sup> a rather detailed treatment to Imruʿ ul-Qays, of which, from the different manuscripts, DE GÖEJE renders two versions p. 37—42<sub>20</sub> and 42<sub>21</sub>—52 respectively. Here we find, in addition to the notices, partly taken from al-Ġumāhī, of the poet Imruʿ ul-Qays and his poems, a great many statements, confirmed by quotations from poems, with regard to the fortunes of the prince of Kinda, his father, and (in the latter version) his grandfather, which undoubtedly render ancient tradition.

To this group of sources, also *Kitāb al-aġānī* (see p. 13) is most conveniently assigned, which, though written in the first place as a sort of history of music, furnishes the best and most detailed biographies that we have of the ancient Arabian poets and, thanks to the number of traditions and tales of ayyām al-ʿarab, with the poems interspersed in them, is one of the most important sources of our knowledge of Arabia before Mohammed. The biography of Imruʿ ul-Qays, including also an account of the fortunes of his ancestors, we find in VIII: 62—76, but besides that practically every volume contains long tales or short notices

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Doreidi *Carmen Macsura dictum*, ed. L. N. BOISEN, Havniæ 1828.

<sup>2</sup> In extracts in *Additamenta ad historiam Arabum* ed. J. L. RASMUSSEN, Havniæ 1821.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Klassen der Dichter*, ed. JOSEPH HELL, Leiden 1916.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Cotaiba, *Liber poësis et poëtarum*, ed. M. J. DE GÖEJE, Lugduni-Batavorum 1904.

of the princes of Kinda and their fights. The greatest passages are the tales of ayyām al-'arab XI: 63—66 and XV: 86—88 and parts of the biographies of as-Samaw'al, XIX: 98—99, and 'Alqama, XXI: 173—74, VII: 128. On account of the accuracy of the author, Abū-l-Faraġ, in stating the origin of his material and thanks to the good sources he has used, this work is of the greatest value, which however is unfortunately lessened by the fact that we have no critical text of it, but only the unchecked Būlāq-edition. This disadvantage may possibly in some measure be considered as removed just as regards the biography of Imru' ul-Qays, as Ag. VIII: 62—75 has been published by DE SLANE in his edition of the Diwān of Imru' ul-Qays from manuscripts in Paris.

The biographical dates with regard to Imru' ul-Qays that are given in Ġamharat aš'ār al-'arab (Būlāq 1308 H.) p. 38 f. furnish a couple of interesting but unfortunately unconfirmed details of the life of the poet.

In the first, more chronicle-like part of Ibn Hišām's biography of the prophet, Kitāb sīrat rasūl Allāh<sup>1</sup> there are also (p. 56 and 953) some notices of the princes of Kinda, these however are not in the text taken from Ibn Ishāq.

The third group of secondary sources, the chronicles, occupy themselves only very slightly with the princes of Kinda. Very few of them devote a special chapter to the kingdom of Kinda, and therefore fragments regarding them are to be picked out in the divisions dealing with al-Yaman, al-Ĥīra, and Ġassān, and the connections of Persia and Byzantium with Arabia.

A special work under the title of Kitāb mulūk Kinda (Fihrist p. 96) by Ibn al-Kalbi is unfortunately preserved only in short extracts, which is the more to be regretted because its author was not only, like his father, from whom he has derived most of his traditional material, an extraordinary expert in the pre-Mohammedan age, its poems and tales of ayyām al-'arab, but also, in spite of Arabian antagonists declaring the contrary, a comparatively careful historian. He has evidently built not only on oral tradition, he proves to have used also inscriptions and annals from al-Ĥīra, and therefore modern investigations have

<sup>1</sup> Das Leben Muhammed's, ed. F. WÜSTENFELD, Göttingen 1858—60.

often confirmed his statements, at times in a splendid way, for instance through the discovery of the tomb-stone of Imru' ul-Qays b. 'Amr of al-Ḥira. Especially for the tradition current in Kinda his father Muḥammad al-Kalbī may be considered as an excellent informant on account of his connections with the Kindite Ibn al-Aṣ'at<sup>1</sup> as well as of his saying (Fihrist, p. 95) that his source regarding the genealogies of Kinda was a Kindite, Abū-l-Kannās. Though the many works of Ibn al-Kalbī, (Fihrist p. 96—98), have for the most part been destroyed, he is, thanks to later books that at times quote but far more often silently build on these works, our most important historical source.

Al-Azraqī has in *Kitāb aḥbār Makka*<sup>2</sup>, p. 125, a tradition based on al-Kalbī, regarding the influence of the Kindites on an-nasī'.

Ibn Qutayba makes in his historical or rather genealogical work *Kitāb al-ma'ārif*<sup>3</sup> very little mention of Kinda and its kings; what there is (p. 296<sub>10</sub>, 309<sub>16</sub> and 310<sub>2</sub>) is chiefly in connection with the history of the kings of al-Yaman, whereas his contemporary Ibn Wāḍih al-Ya'qūbī in his *Ta'riḥ*<sup>4</sup> has devoted a special chapter (p. 246—251) to this subject under the title of »Ḥarb Kinda«, the war of Kinda. This latter version is of special interest on account of its other divergencies as well as the fact that, contrary to all the others, it includes traditions regarding Kinda before the immigration to Naǧd. Even though these by themselves are of little value, they are however of great interest, placing Kinda in another historical connection than the South Arabian tradition of the ordinary type, (see below, p. 21 f.). Al-Ya'qūbī speaks about the communication of Kinda with Ḥaḍramawt but makes no mention whatever of Ḥimyar.

In *Kitāb al-aḥbār at-tiwāl* by ad-Dīnawarī<sup>5</sup> an account of the princes of Kinda is to be found in connection with the history of Ḥimyar (p. 53—55).

<sup>1</sup> See among others LYALL, *Nöldeke-Studien*, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> *Geschichte und Beschreibung der Stadt Mekka*, Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka I, ed. F. WÜSTENFELD, Leipzig 1858.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibn Coteiba's Handbuch der Geschichte* ed. F. WÜSTENFELD, Göttingen 1850.

<sup>4</sup> *Historiæ*, ed. M. Th. HOUTSMA, Lugd. Bat. 1883.

<sup>5</sup> ed. V. GUIRGASS, Leide 1888.

Nor in at-Ṭabarī's Annals<sup>1</sup>, the greatest and most important historical work that Arabian literature can produce, is there any special chapter regarding the kingdom of Kinda. Of the relations of the princes of Kinda with the kings of Ḥimyar, accounts, founded on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbī, are to be found (I: 880<sub>19</sub>—881<sub>8</sub>, 881<sub>18</sub>—882<sub>4</sub> and 888<sub>8</sub>—890<sub>4</sub>) and of their connections with al-Ḥira and Persia we find statements from the same source (I: 888<sub>8</sub>—890<sub>4</sub> and 899<sub>16</sub>—900<sub>1</sub>).

Ibn Durayd has in Kitāb al-iṣṭiqāq<sup>2</sup> a short notice (p. 319<sub>3-7</sub>) of another Arabian princely family, aḍ-Ḍaḡā'ima, and then also mentions a king of Kinda, Ḥuḡr Ākil al-murār, as the antagonist of one member of the said family.

Hamza al-Iṣfahānī has devoted a special chapter in his annals<sup>3</sup> to the kings of Kinda (p. 140<sub>1</sub>—141<sub>11</sub>), but has even earlier, in connection with the kings of al-Ḥira and al-Yaman, often mentioned princes of Kinda. GOTTWALDTS edition is unfortunately based on bad manuscript material, and has here and there to be corrected in accordance with a more correct version represented by the Leyden manuscript (cod. Leyd. WArn. 767 [cat. Dozy 753]), which is the source of the extracts that are to be found in *Historia praecipuorum Arabum regnorum*, ed. RASMUSSEN, Havniæ 1817.

Later historical works are for the most part based on those ahead mentioned, especially on the annals of at-Ṭabarī. Thus Ibn al-Aṭīr corresponds I: 295 and I: 299<sub>3-15</sub>, to at-Ṭabarī I: 880—882 and 888—890, with only very few critical remarks and additions. In the part (p. 367 f.), in which Ibn al-Aṭīr goes beyond the bounds of at-Ṭabarī's history by including several rather long tales of ayyām al-'arab, some chapters occupy themselves with the princes of Kinda (see above, p. 13). As regards Ibn al-Aṭīr's dependence on at-Ṭabarī see BROCKELMANN, *Das Verhältnis von Ibn-el-Aṭīrs Kāmil fit-ta'riḥ zu Ṭabarīs Aḥbār errusul wal mulūk*, Strassburg 1890.

Abū-l-Fidā, *Historia anteislamica*<sup>4</sup> has, p. 130 f., a short account of the kings of Kinda in accordance with al-Kāmil by Ibn al-Aṭīr,

<sup>1</sup> *Annales* edd. . . . M. J. DE GOEJE, Lugd. Bat. 1879—1901.

<sup>2</sup> *Geneal.-etymol. Handbuch*, ed. F. WÜSTENFELD, Göttingen 1854.

<sup>3</sup> *Annalium libri X*, ed. J. M. E. GOTTWALDT, Petrop.-Lipsiæ 1844.

<sup>4</sup> ed. H. O. FLEISCHER, Lipsiæ 1831.



which account only in the first lines affords some probably unintentioned differences from its source.

An-Nuwayrī makes in his encyclopedia, *Nihāyat al-ʿarab fi funūn al-adab*<sup>1</sup>, a single contribution to the history of Kinda by mentioning how the kings of Ḥimyar sent the princes of Kinda to Naǧd as governors.

Lastly Ibn Ḥaldūn has to be mentioned, who in his *Kitāb al-ʿibar*, Cairo 1284, II: 273 f., though chiefly reproducing aṭ-Ṭabarī, has also from other quarters, mainly from *Kitāb al-aǧānī*, gathered material for an account of the fortunes of the princes of Kinda.

In the fourth group of secondary sources, the geographical works, there are not only to be gathered those purely geographical statements that might be of importance for a somewhat exact placing of the kingdom of Kinda and the geographical names combined with its history. There are also traditions knitted to these names and a great number of ancient poems mentioning them. This is especially the case in the great geographical dictionary of Yāqūt, *Kitāb muʿǧam al-buldān*<sup>2</sup>, where the author makes a great many contributions, based on older historical, as well as biographical and poetical, sources<sup>3</sup>, to our knowledge of ancient Arabia and its history. The purely topographical notices regarding most place names that are met with in the tales and poems about the princes of Kinda, most frequently taken from al-Ḥamdānī, *Kitāb šifat ǧazīrat al-ʿarab*<sup>4</sup>, are however in several cases replaced by the hardly valuable piece of information that the name in question denoted a place mentioned by this poet or that (often Imruʾ ul-Qays).

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<sup>1</sup> See *Historia Joctanidarum*, ed. SCHULTENS, Harderovici Gelrorum 1786, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> *Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. F. WÜSTENFELD, Leipzig 1866—73.

<sup>3</sup> See J. HEER, *Die historischen und geographischen Quellen in Jaqūt's Geographischem Wörterbuch*, Strassburg 1898.

<sup>4</sup> *Geographie der Arabischen Halbinsel*, ed. D. H. MÜLLER, Leiden 1884—91.

## CHAPTER II.

### **Different groups of tradition.**

That the oral tradition, underlying all the information about the princes of Kinda that is to be gathered from the Arabian prose sources, not taking into consideration mere fiction that has been added later, is not unanimous, is easy to observe. This fact is easily accounted for, considering the long and unsettled time through which the oral tales have been handed down, the tendency of different tribes and *rāwīs* to complete defective traditions in different ways, to omit details, unpleasant to the tribe or the hearers, and, perhaps not infrequently deliberately, to invent some allusion to the honour and influence of the ancestors of those present. That in this way we often come face to face with statements entirely repugnant to each other, is a fact not altogether disadvantageous for the extracting of what is historically valuable from the old traditions. There is rather in this differentiation a guarantee that what is common to the different traditions, have been such generally known and accepted opinions about bygone times and events, that no variation has been possible or even imaginable with regard to them. But, naturally, we can no more postulate the correctness of these unanimous statements, than we can suppose that among all the different versions of a story, some must hit the truth. We have, in spite of the abundance of the traditions, not all the material, and these uncontradicted stories or details may be variations of other, perhaps more correct statements that have been lost. In practice one should however be able to count upon the larger part of the skeleton of the best and most unanimously verified traditions containing statements of real historical events.

But also when the traditions differ from each other, we have use for them. Some versions may of course be eliminated at



once because of internal contradictions or their incompatibility with well-known facts. Of the remaining ones, some may easily and naturally, others with difficulty, be ranged into well-known connections. The information at our disposal regarding the provenance of a tradition may, lastly, often be of importance for the estimating of its trustworthiness.

In the following an attempt will be made to refer all these traditions regarding the kingdom of Kinda to a small number of groups and to trace them back to the oldest informants known.

Very rarely a version of an event is mentioned as belonging to the tradition of a particular tribe or part of the country. Only exceptional statements are mentioned as Kinda's own version (Ag. VIII: 64) and not much more frequent are the cases, when »the people of al-Yaman» is expressly indicated as the source of a tradition (e. g. Ibn Qutayba, Ši'r p. 43; Ag. VIII: 65). As a rule, it is, at the utmost, mentioned that this or that informant has communicated the tradition in question to some one of the great collectors in the second or third century after Mohammed. That the tales of the tribe of Kinda were not unknown to Ibn al-Kalbī and were probably the basis of his version of its history and have thus in the main been preserved by his records, we have, as previously mentioned (see p. 17), every reason to suppose. And the South Arabian tradition, characterized by the dependent relation, into which it places the kingdom of Kinda, at its origin as well as later on, towards the kings of Ḥimyar, is richly represented among the tales transmitted by Ibn al-Kalbī, Ibn Qutayba, and others, even though we cannot of course ascribe every tradition mentioning Ḥimyar and its kings, Ḥaḍramawt or al-Yaman, in connection with Kinda, to South Arabian origin.

Among all the transmitters of the ancient traditions about Kinda, Hišām Ibn al-Kalbī stands first, as previously mentioned (see p. 16 f.), Most later versions cite him as their source for statements regarding Kinda and its kings. That it is not an unanimous tradition that he renders is evident from the very fact that South Arabian tales are met with under his name side by side of statements contradictory to them. That is also marked out by the different informants, on whom he bases his statements.

As a rule it is his father Muḥammad al-Kalbī, probably most frequently so even when no source is mentioned, but in al-Anbārī's commentary on the Mufaḍḍaliyāt p. 427—41, we find as the principal witness a man of ʿIḡl, a subdivision of Bakr, called Ḥirāš b. Ismāʿīl, who no doubt gives the tradition prevailing within the tribe of Bakr regarding »the first day of al-Kulāb», probably taken by al-Anbārī from Ibn al-Kalbī's Kitāb al-Kulāb al-awwal wa-l-Kulāb at-tānī<sup>1</sup>. Al-Kalbī is only cited for some short notices regarding the kings of Kinda, included in the description rendered there of the battle of al-Kulāb al-awwal, and which, in conformity to LYALL<sup>2</sup>, we probably have to consider as remnants of Ibn al-Kalbī's work Kitāb mulūk Kinda, possibly based on the above mentioned (p. 17) Kindite Abū-l-Kannās, his source regarding Kinda. In single cases another informant of al-Kalbī is mentioned, aš-Šarqī b. al-Quṭāmī, Ag. XV: 86, and Ibn al-Kāhin al-Asadī, Ag. VIII: 68.

Aided by Ibn al-Kalbī's mentioning his different informants for different versions as well as, and above all, by the concordance or contrariety of the traditions, we are able to detach from the main trunk, the Kalbitic tradition in a proper sense, which is as a rule based on Muḥammad al-Kalbī, two branches, the anonymous South Arabian tradition, and the Bakritic one that builds on the authority of Ḥirāš b. Ismāʿīl.

Of these the South Arabian one is easy to recognize by its view of the princes of Kinda as Ḥimyar's governors over Maʿadd and its outpost towards the Persian dominion. It is from this source that the notices based on Ibn al-Kalbī, that are met with in at-Tabarī, are drawn, which notices have then been reproduced by Ibn al-Aṭīr as well as by Ibn Haldūn. To this group the following traditions belong:

Tab. I: 880 <sub>19</sub>	I. A. I: 295 <sub>5-6</sub>	I. H II: 273 <sub>2-3</sub>
» » 881 <sub>1-8</sub>	» » 295 <sub>6-9</sub>	» » 273 <sub>8-12</sub>
» » 881 <sub>18</sub> —882 <sub>4</sub>	» » 295 <sub>18-18</sub>	» » 273 <sub>18-22</sub>
» » 888 <sub>8</sub> —890 <sub>4</sub>	» » 299 <sub>8-15</sub>	

The Bakritic tradition about the princes of Kinda we find above all in al-Anbārī's commentary on the Mufaḍḍaliyāt, p.

<sup>1</sup> Fihrist, p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> NÖLDEKE-Studien, p. 128.

427—441, with Hirāš b. Ismā'il as authority. Here Bakr and the princes of Kinda in the capacity of its kings are in the centre. Neither the aid of Ḥimyar nor that of Persia is necessary for the development of their power. Ibn al-Kalbī has clearly distinguished the difference between this tradition and that based on his father; from this latter moreover he communicates complementary information with regard to the princes of Kinda that has evidently been missing in the Bakritic tradition. The Bakritic account of the battle of al-Kulāb al-awwal has, more or less complete, been included in Abū 'Ubayda's commentary on Naqā'id Garīr wa-l-Farazdaq, transmitted by Ibn Ḥabīb, as-Sukkārī and al-Yazīdī, p. 452 ff. (here ascribed by Abū 'Ubayda to Hirāš and Ibn al-Kalbī) and p. 1072 ff., Ag. XI: 64 ff. (from Naq.), Ibn al-Aṭīr I: 406 ff. and in extracts in Ibn Ḥaldūn II: 273 f. and 'Abd al-Qādir, Ḥizāna II: 501 f. with the following distribution of the corresponding passages regarding the princes of Kinda:

Muf.	Naq. I	Naq. II	Ag.	I. H.
427 <sub>11</sub> —428 <sub>1</sub>		1072 <sub>15</sub> —1073 <sub>7</sub>	XI: 64 <sub>1—8</sub>	II: 273 <sub>22—29</sub>
428 <sub>1—3</sub>	452 <sub>7—10</sub>	1073 <sub>7—10</sub>	XI: 64 <sub>8—11</sub>	II: 274 <sub>2—10</sub>
428 <sub>4—5</sub>	452 <sub>11—13</sub>	1073 <sub>10—13</sub>		
428 <sub>9—10</sub>	452 <sub>16—17</sub>	1073 <sub>15—16</sub>		I. A.      Hiz.
428 <sub>10—21</sub>	452 <sub>11</sub> —453 <sub>10</sub>	1073 <sub>17</sub> —1074 <sub>6</sub>	XI: 64 <sub>11—18</sub>	I: 406 <sub>10—22</sub>   II: 501 <sub>11</sub> —502 <sub>3</sub>
430 <sub>14</sub> —431 <sub>15</sub>	454 <sub>10</sub> —455 <sub>19</sub>	1075 <sub>6</sub> —1076 <sub>13</sub>	» 65 <sub>2—28</sub>	» 407 <sub>1—20</sub>   » 502 <sub>4—18</sub>
432 <sub>5—13</sub>	456 <sub>6—16</sub>			
432 <sub>16</sub> —433 <sub>8</sub>	456 <sub>17</sub> —457 <sub>11</sub>	1076 <sub>16</sub> —1077 <sub>12</sub>	» 65 <sub>27—66</sub> <sub>9</sub>	» 408 <sub>4</sub>
434 <sub>11</sub> —438 <sub>10</sub>	454 <sub>13</sub> —460 <sub>5</sub>	1077 <sub>13</sub> —1079 <sub>2</sub>	» 66 <sub>10—16</sub>	» 408 <sub>2—4</sub>
441 <sub>1—2</sub>				» 408 <sub>14—15</sub>

Of the account of the battle of al-Kulāb we have now left as simply Kalbitic the tradition, which is represented by the passages inserted from Kitāb mulūk Kinda, viz:

Muf.	Naq. I	I. A.
429 <sub>1—2</sub>		I: 406 <sub>4—6</sub>
429 <sub>3—9</sub>		» 406 <sub>7—8</sub>
429 <sub>9—12</sub>		» 406 <sub>8—12</sub>
429 <sub>12—15</sub>		» 406 <sub>12—17</sub>
429 <sub>15—21</sub>		
431 <sub>20</sub> —432 <sub>1</sub>	456 <sub>4—6</sub>	» 407 <sub>11</sub> —408 <sub>3</sub>
441 <sub>2—4</sub>		

These fragments give a short summary of the history of Kinda, with which the other traditions traced back to Ibn al-Kalbī and his father as a rule agree.

Also this remaining traditional material regarding the kingdom of Kinda, brought together by Ibn al-Kalbī and put by him into his different works, has directly or indirectly in great or small parts been included in a great many later works. Thus al-Azraqī has, p. 125, a tradition, based on al-Kalbī, regarding the influence of Kinda on an-nasī', and Ibn Qutayba refers in several passages, Ši'r, p. 40<sub>8</sub> and 44<sub>15</sub>, to his authority. On comparison with the passages of Ag. VIII: 62 ff., based on Ibn al-Kalbī, a good deal of the tales of Ibn Qutayba included in Ši'r, p. 37 ff., regarding the princes of Kinda prove further to be abridged traditions from Ibn al-Kalbī (Ši'r, p. 37<sub>4</sub>—38<sub>16</sub> = Ag. VIII: 65<sub>14</sub>—66<sub>18</sub>; Ši'r, p. 38<sub>18</sub>—39<sub>7</sub> = Ag. VIII: 68<sub>5-23</sub>).

Also Hamza al-Iṣfahānī, p. 108<sub>4-9</sub>, mentions Ibn al-Kalbī, not, however, as a source for traditional material, but on account of his examination of the tables of kings of al-Ḥīra, Kitāb ahl al-Ḥīra. That, however, he has also gathered a good deal of material for the history of the princes of Kinda from Ibn al-Kalbī's traditions is probable, even though we may not consider the work he cites (p. 140) as his source, Kitāb aḥbār Kinda, as identical with Ibn al-Kalbī's Kitāb mulūk Kinda.

Lastly we find in Kitāb al-aḡānī a great number of traditions drawn from Ibn al-Kalbī or his father. In addition to the account, mentioned above (see p. 23), of the battle of al-Kulāb al-awwal (XI: 64 ff.), which has proved to belong here, the following passages should be mentioned: VI: 87, VIII: 82, XV: 86<sub>6</sub>—87<sub>19</sub>, (the latter also adopted by Ibn al-Aṭīr I: 370 f.) XIX: 98<sub>u</sub>—99<sub>24</sub> (with small divergences in Ibn Ḥaldūn II: 275), XIX: 127<sub>20</sub> and above all great parts of the continuous account of the history of Imru' ul-Qays and his ancestors in VIII: 62—76, where he holds a commanding position among the informants of those parts, in which Abū-l-Faraḡ has found that union prevails. Therefore MITTWOCH, p. 33 f., not without reason indicates these parts as based on Ibn al-Kalbī. Besides he is also frequently represented by versions, differing from those of the others, and details, not met with elsewhere. We can therefore consider 63<sub>28</sub>—64<sub>u</sub> (which is, like the following passages, to be found in Ibn

al-Atīr I: 375 ff.<sup>1</sup>, from where they have been gathered by Abū-l-Fidā, p. 130 ff.), 65<sub>14</sub>—66<sub>18</sub>, 68<sub>5-16</sub> (Ibn al-Atīr I: 375<sub>7</sub>—376<sub>8</sub>, 376<sub>17</sub>—377<sub>12</sub>, 378<sub>11-19</sub> respectively), 68<sub>16-23</sub>, 69<sub>19-u</sub>, 70<sub>3-8</sub>, 70<sub>14</sub>—71<sub>pu</sub>, 72<sub>7-9</sub>, 73<sub>18-20</sub> as originating from Ibn al-Kalbī.

That Yāqūt has taken much from Ibn al-Kalbī is evident from the not rare quotations from his works<sup>2</sup> and appears in other cases in his conformity to traditions cited from Ibn al-Kalbī in other authors.

While the traditions; cited under Ibn al-Kalbī's name, may be further divided into smaller groups according to their different sources and origins, his contemporary Abū 'Ubayda mentions only in two cases any source for his statements regarding the princes of Kinda, one of which, in spite of the extraordinary isnād: Abū 'Ubayda, Sibawayhi, al-Ḥalīl, is no doubt a forgery added afterwards (Ag. VIII: 75<sub>13</sub>—76<sub>14</sub>). The other is the passage (see above p. 23) in the Naqā'id, p. 452, where Ibn al-Kalbī and Hirāš b. Ismā'il are cited, from which it follows that both this passage and that in the Naqā'id p. 1072—79, which is mostly word for word the same, are to be considered as borrowed from Ibn al-Kalbī, and not, as we might otherwise feel tempted to suppose, as originating from a source, common to Ibn al-Kalbī and Abū 'Ubayda. For the rest Abū 'Ubayda seems however to be rather independent of Ibn al-Kalbī's traditions without therefore showing any great differences from them. The traditions of Abū 'Ubayda, even those taken from Ibn al-Kalbī, are uncommonly free from South Arabian influence, but we find however occasional passages (Naq. 267<sub>2-4</sub> and 'Iqd III: 77<sub>21-28</sub>) mentioning the dependence on the kings of Ḥimyar that the South Arabian tradition assumes.

In the Naqā'id we have besides the above-mentioned accounts of the battle of al-Kulāb al-awwal only very few notices of the princes of Kinda: p. 267<sub>2-14</sub> and 448<sub>13-15</sub>.

From the unfortunately lost work Kitāb ayyām al-'arab, often cited and still more often quoted in later works, we may however here and there find accounts parallel with the traditions

<sup>1</sup> See MITTWOCH p. 33 f.

<sup>2</sup> See J. HEER, Die hist. und geogr. Quellen in Jāqut's geographischem Wörterbuch, p. 4 f.

of Ibn al-Kalbī. Thus 'Iqd III: 77<sub>21</sub>, (in part included by Ibn Badrūn in his commentary — p. 119<sub>13-11</sub> — on verse 16 of Ibn 'Abdūn's qaṣīda), where Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi following Abū 'Ubayda quotes quite another version of the account of the battle of al-Kulāb al-awwal and its causes than that given by the Naqā'id.

Kitāb al-aḡānī XI: 63 ff. on the contrary, has under the name of Abū 'Ubayda that version, previously mentioned, that we have traced back to Ibn al-Kalbī. Kitāb al-aḡānī has indeed not a few extracts from Abū 'Ubayda's tales of ayyām al-'arab and other traditions. Ag. XV: 87<sub>19</sub>—88<sub>10</sub> is based on Abū 'Ubayda and cites his divergences from the immediately preceding account of the »day« of al-Baradān, which is based on Ibn al-Kalbī and with which the version of Abū 'Ubayda is said to have otherwise agreed. Ibn al-Aṭīr has included some details from this version of Abū 'Ubayda in his account of the said »day«, I: 373<sub>9-12</sub> and 374<sub>16-18</sub>. A couple of notices regarding the life of Imru' ul-Qays, which are quoted in Ag. XIX: 84<sub>u</sub> and XXI: 173<sub>2</sub> in connection with poems of his, are also based on Abū 'Ubayda.

Another rather frequently cited source is al-Hayṭam b. 'Adī, who at times, Ag. VIII: 65<sub>4-14</sub>, goes back to Ḥammād ar-Rāwīya and finally to a Jew from Taymā', Sa'ya b. 'Arīd. From al-Hayṭam Ag. VIII: 65<sub>4-14</sub>, 66<sub>28</sub>—67<sub>4</sub>, 68<sub>24</sub>—69<sub>11</sub> are thus said to originate (and from him together with Ibn al-Kalbī and others 70<sub>14</sub>—71<sub>5</sub>, 71<sub>11-pu</sub>, 72<sub>7-9</sub>), of which 65<sub>4-14</sub> and 66<sub>28</sub>—67<sub>4</sub> are to be found also in Ibn al-Aṭīr I: 376<sub>8-17</sub> and 377<sub>15-22</sub>. These passages, put together, form a short description, differing on several points from other versions, of the lives of the princes of Kinda.

The whole account of the later fortunes of Imru' ul-Qays in Ag. VIII: 71<sub>u</sub>—74<sub>2</sub>, which has also been included by Ibn al-Aṭīr I: 380<sub>13</sub>—382<sub>3</sub>, is, with quite short gaps, based on one of the descendants of the Jew as-Samaw'al from Taymā', Dārim b. 'Iqāl, a rather doubtful and otherwise unknown source. It is possible, that there is an old common source of at least part of al-Hayṭams tradition and that of Dārim, both going back to the Jews of Taymā'.

Among the many other older informants Abū 'Amr aš-Šaybānī (Ag. VIII: 66<sub>19-27</sub> = Ibn al-Aṭīr I: 377<sub>12-15</sub>; Ag. XVI: 165<sub>pu</sub>) and



Ya'qūb b. as-Sikkīt (Ag. VIII: 67<sub>4</sub>—68<sub>4</sub> = Ibn al-Aṭīr I: 377<sub>22</sub>—378<sub>11</sub>; Ag. VIII: 70<sub>9-13</sub>, and from him together with Ibn al-Kalbī Ag. VIII: 69<sub>19-21</sub>, 70<sub>3-8</sub>) are to be mentioned, both of them offering quite unique traditions, which however only have reference to detached events.

Further several contemporaries of Ibn al-Kalbī are mentioned as sources of one or two short notices, as e. g. in Ag. VIII: 62 al-Aṣma'ī and Ibn al-A'rābī.

Ibn Hišām has very little and nothing remarkable to say about the princes of Kinda and is therefore as a matter of course not to be found in later works, cited as a source of information regarding them.

Muḥammad b. Sallām-al-Ġumahī, the author of the oldest Kitāb ṭabaqāt aš-šu'arā' known, is often quoted, but has only rarely something to say about the life of Imru' ul-Qays, dealing mostly with his poems. In an-Nawawī, Kitāb taḥdīb al-asmā'<sup>1</sup> there is however, p. 164, a notice quoted from Ibn Sallām regarding Imru' ul-Qays, which does not refer to any earlier source, whereas the tradition based on him in Ag. VII: 128<sub>12-21</sub> proves evident affinity with Ag. XXI: 173, where Abū 'Ubayda is the source. Ibn Sallām's short story of as-Samaw'al, p. 70 in his above-mentioned work, might also originate from Abū 'Ubayda. — Via Muḥammad b. Sallām a couple of traditions regarding Imru' ul-Qays in Ibn Qutayba, Ši'r, p. 48<sub>14-18</sub> and 49<sub>8</sub>—50<sub>16</sub>, are traced back as far as to al-Farazdaq. The latter of these passages is also to be found in Ag. XIX: 27<sub>4-pu</sub> and both of them have been included in the Ġamhara, p. 38 f., here preceded by another story of Imru' ul-Qays and his father, transmitted by Ibn Da'b from al-Farazdaq (p. 38<sub>10-29</sub>) and not met with in any other source.

That Ibn Qutayba has gathered the material for his narrations about Imru' ul-Qays and Kinda in Ši'r, p. 37—56 from several quarters is evident, if only from what has been said above about Ibn al-Kalbī and al-Ġumahī. It is however very rarely that he mentions his sources, and even after we have

<sup>1</sup> The biographical dictionary of illustrious men, ed. F. WÜSTENFELD, Göttingen 1842—47.

taken away what we recognize as the traditions of Ibn al-Kalbī, there remains much of unknown origin. Thus *Kitāb al-maʿarif*, p. 310, in the beginning well agrees with Ibn al-Kalbī, but suddenly draws from another source than the Ibn al-Kalbī that we know.

Ag. VIII: 65<sub>1-4</sub>, 69<sub>12-18</sub> are based on Ibn Qutayba, *Šīr*, p. 43<sub>4</sub>, 45<sub>7-11</sub>; the former passage has already (see p. 21) been mentioned as belonging to the South Arabian tradition. Besides Ibn al-Kalbī and others, Ibn Qutayba is also cited as an informant for Ag. VIII: 70<sub>14</sub>—71<sub>5</sub>, 71<sub>11-pu</sub> and 72<sub>7-9</sub>. Any noteworthy resemblance between these passages and the corresponding ones in Ibn Qutayba, *Šīr*, p. 38—52, is however not to be found, and the traditions cited there seem to be of an independent type.

A quite isolated group of traditions seems to have been the basis of Ibn Wāḍih al-Yaʿqūbī's narrative of «the war of Kinda» (I: 246—251). It is not only the language and the style that differ from those of all the versions previously known, but it shows great differences from them also with regard to the contents. From whom this version of the history of Kinda originates is covered in complete obscurity.

Later works have not taken much from al-Yaʿqūbī. Only in Ibn Badrūn a passage, p. 118<sub>13</sub>—119<sub>4</sub> = al-Yaʿqūbī, p. 248<sub>13-u</sub>, is found, which may possibly be derived from him.

More in conformity to the South Arabian tradition known through Ibn al-Kalbī and others, ad-Dīnawarī in *Kitāb al-aḥbār aṭ-ṭiwāl* briefly relates (p. 53—55) the placing of the princes of Kinda as governors appointed by Ḥimyar over the tribes in Naǧd, but shows however such evident divergences from it that here also we have to presume some unknown independent source. — An-Nuwayrī<sup>1</sup> has included this passage in an abridged form with some different readings, citing Ibn Ḥamdūn as his informant.

Hamza al-Iṣfahānī has, as mentioned above (see p. 24), included a good deal of material from Ibn al-Kalbī in his annals.

<sup>1</sup> *Historia Joctanidarum*, p. 74.



But he has also other things to relate, which we find nowhere ascribed to the latter, but which are even contrary to his statements. Though it is very probable that Hamza had some other Arabian tradition for his authority in addition to that of Ibn al-Kalbī, this is however not necessary. As Hamza, just as at-Tabarī, al-Ya'qūbī, ad-Dīnawarī, and other Arabian historiographers, has used also Persian sources<sup>1</sup>, these differences, which are chiefly met with in accounts of the intercourse of the Kindites with Persia and al-Ḥīra, may depend on the Persian sources. That, indeed, Ibn al-Kalbī has drawn from these, is by no means impossible<sup>2</sup>. Hamza al-Iṣfahānī is not mentioned as a source in later works, though of course he has often supplied them with material. Thus, for instance, Ibn al-Aṭīr, I: 374, refers to Hamza, p. 140.

The more we advance in time, the more rare discoveries of traditions, not previously met with, become. The differences, which appear here and there, have as a rule arisen through attempts to reconcile contradictions, or through criticism of statements in the ancient traditions. Here and there, however, some detached detail is found, which cannot have arisen in that way. The danger of being duped by a late invention is always before us, but sometimes it may however be old material, which only in later works is made known to us, and therefore comparatively late works must also be taken into consideration in this connection.

In Ibn Badrūn's commentary on Ibn 'Abdūn, verse 16, we thus incessantly find, apart from one passage, p. 119<sub>13-14</sub>, evidently via 'Iqd III: 77<sub>21-26</sub>, (see p. 26), originating from Abū 'Ubayda, and another, p. 118<sub>13</sub>—119<sub>4</sub>, possibly coming from al-Ya'qūbī, p. 248, (see p. 28), small differences from the usual traditions, that may possibly be due to older sources unknown to us.

Though most of what Yāqūt in his Kitāb mu'ḡam al-buldān has to relate about the tribe and the princes of Kinda agrees with the tradition of Ibn al-Kalbī (see p. 25), there are however also passages, not only differing from that, but also from any other tradition known, thus presupposing sources unknown to us. In Yāqūt II: 648 we thus find a very remarkable divergence

<sup>1</sup> See NÖLDEKE's introduction to Sasaniden.

<sup>2</sup> See ibm, p. XXVII.

from every known version of a rather important chapter of the history of Kinda.

Also Ibn Ḥaldūn has in *Kitāb al-ʿibar* in the part concerning the kings of Kinda, II: 273 ff., one or two rather striking, though insignificant, variations of the old traditions. From Ibn Saʿid he has derived, p. 276<sub>3-11</sub>, a short account of the fortunes of the princes of Kinda, which differs from all others on two or three points. In page 273<sub>3-8</sub>, in immediate connection with the preceding passage, which is taken from aṭ-Ṭabarī, I: 880<sub>19</sub>, where it is ascribed to Ibn al-Kalbī, a fragment is to be found that is met with neither in aṭ-Ṭabarī nor in any of the traditions of Ibn al-Kalbī, but is rather contrary to these as well as to those of others. In a passage that is said to be from »someone other than Hišām b. Muḥammad», p. 273<sub>u</sub>—274<sub>8</sub>, as well as p. 274<sub>11-21</sub>, where nothing is said of the informant, we find one or two such differences, which are difficult to account for entirely as due to a collector's mistake or simply that of a copyist. But to say anything about the sources that have caused these divergences is impossible.

A great many of these informants, to whom the traditions can be traced back directly or indirectly, have, as we have seen, only given us very few details of a version, which was probably in most cases considerably longer, but, however, as a rule coincided with what others had to offer and therefore was not quoted by the collectors. Apart from all these isolated traditions, as well as from the small differences of unknown origin in later works, the Arabian traditions about Kinda can be divided into a few principal groups, supplying more or less complete accounts, more or less different from each other, of the kingdom of Kinda and its rulers.

These groups are represented by the following informants:

1. Ibn al-Kalbī with the two branches mentioned above,
  - a) the Bakritic, based on Ḥirāš b. Ismāʿīl,
  - b) the South Arabian.
2. Abū ʿUbayda,
3. al-Hayṭam b. ʿAdī } Which, both of them, entirely or partly, may be
4. ad-Dārim b. ʿIqāl } traced back to the Jews of Taymāʾ.
5. Ibn Qutayba,
6. Ibn Wāḍih al-Yaʿqūbī.

In the following I will in rendering the Arabian tradition regarding the princes of Kinda follow the version of Ibn al-Kalbī, based on his father, which version is not only the most complete, but certainly on the whole also the most reliable one, but, as a comparison, quote all the note-worthy divergences and additions in the other sources.

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### CHAPTER III.

#### The earlier fortunes of the tribe of Kinda.

About the origin and the earlier fortunes of the tribe of Kinda we know practically nothing for certain. It is not until the end of the fifth century of the Christian era that it suddenly makes its appearance in history. Its chiefs are then rulers or leaders of a coalition of several great and mighty tribes in Central Arabia. That Kinda, however, had no domiciliary right there, but had rather recently intruded upon the territory of Ma'add, that is to say of the North Arabians, is the very nearly unanimous opinion of the Arabian tradition. Thus it is said in Yāqūt, III: 814<sub>3</sub>, that the place Ġamr dī Kinda, where Kinda first lived, belonged to a tribe of Ma'add, Ġunāda. This character of theirs of being usurpers together with the fact that we find among them names of unmistakably South Arabian origin, such as Šuraḥbīl, Abūkarīb, Ma'dikarīb, are the reasons why we must agree with the statement of the Arabian tradition, that this tribe had migrated from South Arabia. As a further support for this the poem of Imru' ul-Qays (Diw. 61)<sup>1</sup>, where he characterizes himself and his companions as »a Yamanitic crowd«, may possibly be cited. The Arabian genealogists also referred the tribe of Kinda to the South-Arabians in their great genealogical system, where the Arabs are divided into two great groups, North- and South-Arabians. That, however, complete agreement in this respect did not prevail, is evident from the just mentioned passage in Yāqūt, where, from Ibn al-Kalbī, it is said that some people from the fact that the tribe of Kinda was living in the territory of Ġunāda b. Ma'add concluded that Kinda also originated from 'Adnān, the »father« of Ma'add, and appears also from Ag. XI: 160 and Muf. p. 427, where it is mentioned that by some people Kinda was numbered with Ma'add.

<sup>1</sup> see below, p. 97.

Where in South Arabia the tribe of Kinda had its domicile immediately before the emigration we cannot state with any certainty whatever. The Arabian designation of Ḥaḍramawt (Ibn Ḥaldūn II: 276<sub>3</sub>, and others), where the chief place of the Kindites is said to have been Dammūn (cf. Imr. Diw. 61) may be a moving backwards in time of the circumstances of later times, when Kinda, having finished its days in Naǧd, moved southwards and then ended in Ḥaḍramawt, where its descendants are still to be found. We have possibly in an inscription at Ma'rib (GLASER 618) from the year 543 an indication that about that time Kinda, or in any case part of the tribe, was living in or near Ḥaḍramawt<sup>1</sup>, if we dare to identify the KDT, twice met with there, with Kinda. About the tribe of Kinda before its migration to Naǧd the South Arabian inscriptions as well as the Greek sources are however quite silent.

The Arabian tradition has not much to relate about Kinda in South Arabia. In the above-mentioned passage in Ibn Ḥaldūn, II: 276<sub>3-11</sub>, which is based on Ibn Sa'id, it is said: The territory of Kinda was in the east of al-Yaman and its principal town was Dammūn and the Banū Mu'āwiya b. 'Anaza, with whom the Tabābi'a entered into an alliance, held the power in unbroken succession. Otherwise it is, strictly speaking, only al-Ya'qūbī, I: 246 ff., (see p. 17) that devotes any attention to this period of its history. An account is given there of devastating fights between Kinda under two chiefs, one of whom is called Sa'id b. 'Amr b. an-Nu'mān b. Wahb. and its sub-divisions the Banū-l-Ḥarīṭ b. Mu'āwiya under 'Amr b. Zayd and as-Sakūn under Šurahbīl b. al-Ḥarīṭ on one side, and Ḥaḍramawt under, among others, Mus'ir b. Mustā'ir, Salama b. Ḥuǧr, and Šarāhīl b. Murra on the other. In these long struggles, which took the lives of all these chiefs, the tribe of Kinda, which is said to have been peaceable by nature, seems to have been inferior. Ḥaḍramawt proclaimed the young 'Alqama b. Ta'lab king, but during the time of disturbance that visited al-Yaman, the tribe of Kinda had to depart and it was only through this migration that the tribe came to gather round one king, after having settled down in the country of Ma'add, that is

<sup>1</sup> E. GLASER, Zwei Inschriften über den Dammbruch von Märib. Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, Berlin 1897, 6. p. 55.

to say among the North Arabian tribes. As neither the events nor the names of this tradition have any connection with either South Arabian inscriptions or other traditional material, it does not prove anything regarding the origin of Kinda.

The attempt of A. SPRENGER to identify Kinda with the Minaeans<sup>1</sup> can by no means be considered successful, nor has it won approbation from later scholars. The centuries that lie between the time of Plinius and Strabo, on whose evidence, that Meccah, as well as large territories in the interior of Arabia, was subject to the Minaeans, SPRENGER bases his opinion, and the first reminiscences of Kinda's appearance in the same neighbourhood, no doubt brought along with them sufficient disturbances to obliterate completely the last remnants of the dominion of the Minaeans. The migration of the South Arabian tribes towards the north was certainly more vigorous than ever during that period because of the gradually sinking prosperity of South Arabia, after the world's commerce had been moved from the caravan roads through Arabia to the sea route round the peninsula.

No more than we can state from which part of South Arabia Kinda came to Ġamr dī Kinda, situated in the south-western corner of Naġd at a distance of two days' journey from Meccah, can we tell with any certainty, when this migration took place. Al-Ya'qūbī enumerates, I: 247, no less than five kings in a direct line that are said to have ruled over Kinda after its arrival in the country of Ma'add before Ḥuġr Ākil al-murār, who, in our opinion, may be considered to have come into power about the middle of the fifth century (see p. 45 f.). The five generations represent a period of 100—125 years, whether we take into consideration the years of their reigns, communicated to us by al-Ya'qūbī for most of them, or not. According to this tradition the appearance of Kinda in Naġd should consequently be dated to the former half or to the middle of the fourth century.

These five kings in al-Ya'qūbī bear, all but the last, the same names as are generally used in the genealogies for the ancestors of Ḥuġr Ākil al-murār. Broadly speaking, we have nothing left of them but the names and, in al-Ya'qūbī, the years of their

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<sup>1</sup> Die alte Geographie Arabiens, Bern 1875, § 351 ff.



reigns, which are doubtful, to say the least of it. Not even the Arabian tradition has as a rule anything to say about them. The first of them was, says al-Ya'qūbī, Murti' b. Mu'āwiya b. Tawr, who ruled for 20 years. Regarding him we find in Ag. VIII: 63,<sup>14</sup> that according to the general opinion among the informants Murti' had derived his name from his giving everyone of his tribe, who came to him, a place with rich pasture (marta') for his herd, certainly however an explanation of the name without any historical background. After him, continues al-Ya'qūbī, his son Tawr became king, but soon died, and was succeeded by his son Mu'āwiya. After Mu'āwiya came al-Ḥārīt, who reigned for 40 years, and finally his son Wahb with a reign extending over 20 years. This Wahb is nowhere included among the ancestors of Ḥuḡr Ākil al-murār (the only exception would be a verse by Ḡarīr, Ag. VII: 46,<sup>10</sup>, where Kindites are spoken of as Banu Ḥuḡr b. Wahb), but certainly among those of his wife Hind (see below, p. 41).

To this first time in Ḡamr dī Kinda one may, on account of its nearness to Meccah, be tempted, like SPRENGER, *Alte Geogr.*, p. 226, to fix the influence of the tribe on an-nasī'<sup>1</sup>, the leap-month institution, connected with the pilgrimage to this latter place. This influence had, according to a tradition based on al-Kalbī, related by al-Azraqī, p. 125, earlier than to Mālik b. Kināna, belonged to Kinda, who had been kings of the Arabs of Rabī'a and Muḍar and deputies of al-maqāwil (the Ḥimyaritic chieftains). If there is anything of historical value in this otherwise unconfirmed tradition and if Kinda had at any time most to say with regard to the pilgrimage, which is by no means impossible, it is however unnecessary and probably incorrect, to make, like SPRENGER, this influence cease with the shifting of the preponderance of the kingdom of Kinda to the interior of Naḡd. According to al-Ḥamdānī, p. 85 and p. 88, Ḡamr dī Kinda was possessed by Kinda until and after the fall of the kingdom, and the seven generations of Kināna that the Kalibitic tradition presupposes from the time the tribe took over the an-nasī' till the victory of al-Islām, do not bring us further back in time than the fall of the

<sup>1</sup> See A. Moberg, *Den muhammedanska traditionen i fråga om an-nasī'* (Koran 9.37) in »Studier tillegnade Esaias Tegnér den 13 januari 1918», Lund 1918.

kingdom of Kinda in the middle of the sixth century. Ibn Hiṣam, p. 30, has six names of holders of the office of *nāsi* in a direct line, four of which are to be found in the genealogical table of the last of them in the said tradition. The date thus obtained it is also easier to combine with the statement of al-Kalbī that the tribe of Kinda that decided *an-nasi* were kings of the Arabs of Rabīʿa and Muḍar», (al-Azraqī, p. 125).

It is however by no means impossible that even earlier than in the fourth century Kinda was to be found if not in Naḡd in any case in Ḥiǧāz and Tihāma in the neighbourhood of Meccah. Evidence of this has been considered to be found in the fact that the Adulis inscription in Cosmas Indicopleustes<sup>1</sup>, as well as Ptolemaeus<sup>2</sup>, mentions a people on the Red Sea called *Κυναιδοκολπιται*, but whether the first part of this name has arisen from Kunayda, a diminutive of Kinda, as GLASER<sup>3</sup> and MORITZ<sup>4</sup> consider, or from Kināna, as BLAU<sup>5</sup> and SPRENGER<sup>6</sup> hold as more probable, or from quite another name, cannot be stated for certain.

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<sup>1</sup> C. I., The chr. topography, ed. WINSTEDT, Cambr. 1909, p. 75 (with regard to its age see p. 340).

<sup>2</sup> VI: 7,20—23.

<sup>3</sup> Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens, Berlin 1890, II: 232 ff.

<sup>4</sup> In PAULY-WISSOWA.

<sup>5</sup> Z. D. M. G. 22: 663.

<sup>6</sup> Alte Geogr., p. 31 ff.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### Ḥuḡr Akīl al murār.

Even though Kinda still earlier from Ḡamr dī Kinda had exercised a certain influence on the Bedouin tribes in Naḡd, we cannot, however, date the origin of the kingdom of Kinda, in a proper sense, earlier than about the year 450, at which time the Ḥuḡr b. 'Amr, surnamed Ākil al-murār, ought to have been living, who, according to Arabian tradition, first made himself master of Ma'add. By the kingdom of Kinda we consequently understand here neither the tribe under its earlier chiefs, who, however mighty they may have been, were only tribal chiefs, nor the parts of the tribe that remained in South Arabia or returned there after the fall of the kingdom and, as far as we can see, were nothing but a tribe, though great and mighty, among others. What we mean is the coalition of North Arabian tribes under a princely family of Kinda that had immigrated to Naḡd, which in all probability bore a similar relation to the kingdom of the Ḥimyrites as al-Ḥira to Persia and the Syriac vassal state to Byzantium, and which with varying success for near 100 years rivalled these kingdoms for supremacy in North Arabia.

What part the tribe of Kinda then played is uncertain. The traditions speak exclusively of the princes of Kinda and the North Arabian tribes subject to them and give unquestionably the impression that only a quite inconsiderable part of the great tribe of Kinda participated in the adventures of the kings of the family of Ākil al-murār at the head of the tribes of Rabī'a and Muḍar, whereas the vast majority of the tribe remained in Ḡamr dī Kinda, or possibly at some earlier place of residence of the tribe, or left in other directions, as e. g. for al-Muṣaqqar and al-Baḥrayn, from where in the second half of the 6th century they poured southwards to Ḥaḍramawt, according to al-Hamdānī, p.

85 and 88. The mere fact of this sudden migration, which is evidently to be connected with the fall of the kingdom of Kinda that took place a short time before, might however prove that the tribe participated in the concerns of the princes of Kinda in Nağd and North Arabia to a considerably higher degree than the traditions otherwise give one to understand.

The progenitor of this dynasty of kings of Kinda and its eponymus is Ḥuğr Ākil al-murār. About his origin agreement on the whole prevails. His nasab is as a rule Ḥuğr b.ʿAmr b.Muʿāwiya b.al-Ḥārīt b.Muʿāwiya b.Ṭawr b.Murtiʿ b.Muʿāwiya b.Ṭawr = Kinda, in which we recognize the names of four of the five kings of Kinda before Ḥuğr, given by al-Yaʿqūbī<sup>1</sup>. Muʿāwiya, the grandfather of Ḥuğr, is not mentioned by al-Yaʿqūbī, and his father ʿAmr is not enumerated among the kings, but Ḥuğr b.ʿAmr comes immediately after Wahb b.al-Ḥārīt. According to this tradition a new branch of the old family of princes assumes with Ḥuğr authority over Kinda. The few divergences from this generally accepted nasab that are to be found in addition to those already quoted are extremely insignificant. At-Ṭabari makes (I: 888) Ibn al-Kalbī call the father of Ḥuğr ʿAdī, and in Ag. XV: 88 we find him mentioned as al-Ḥārīt by Abū ʿUbayda. In both cases we evidently have to do with very transparent confusions.

It is nowhere stated how Ḥuğr obtained dominion over either great or small parts of the tribe of Kinda, but there are many different stories about the manner, in which he extended his power over the Arabian tribes in Nağd.

While the Kalbitic tradition in Muf. p. 429 contents itself with stating that Ḥuğr was the first Kindite that had a strong dominion in the country of Maʿadd, Ibn al-Kalbī has, via his father, from aš-Šarqī b.al-Qutāmī, in Ag. XV: 86, supplied a statement with distinctly South Arabian colouring that when Tubbaʿ on his way to al-ʿIrāq came to the country of Maʿadd, he made Ḥuğr b.ʿAmr king there. In the same manner Hamza, p. 140. Ibn Ḥaldūn relates, II: 273, in immediate connection with the preceding passage, which is taken from Ṭab. I: 881 and there ascribed to Ibn al-Kalbī, that Ḥuğr had been made king of all Maʿadd

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 34 f.

b.ʿAdnān by the Ḥimyaritic king Ḥassān b.Ṭubbaʿ, who had the same mother as he, but in II: 276<sub>3</sub>, we find a quotation from Ibn Saʿīd, that the tabābiʿa entered into alliance with the chiefs of Kinda and placed them as governors over Maʿadd b.ʿAdnān in al-Ḥigāz. The first governor was Ḥuḡr, placed in his office by Ṭubbaʿ b.Karib, »who clothed al-Kaʿba«. Also in Ibn al-Aʿīr I: 375 it is said, without any source being mentioned that one of the tabābiʿa of al-Yaman, »who were the same to the Arabs as the caliphs were to the faithful»<sup>1</sup>, made Ḥuḡr king of Bakr. Ibn al-Aʿīr has however here, I: 374<sub>pm</sub>—375<sub>4</sub>, reproduced a tradition from Abū ʿUbayda, which otherwise<sup>2</sup>, with or without this South Arabian trait, is always told about al-Ḥārīt, a grandson of Ḥuḡr, with whom he is also elsewhere often confused (see below, p. 54). Even though the statement, also given in this tradition, that he settled down in Baṭn ʿĀqil, where he is also said to have been buried at last, applies decidedly better to Ḥuḡr than to al-Ḥārīt (see below, p. 68), the reason stated there for the placing of a prince of Kinda over Bakr (or Rabiʿa<sup>2</sup>), viz. the chaos prevailing there, is however no doubt most compatible with al-Ḥārīt and the days of the war of al-Basūs. Abū-l-Fida has, p. 130, given us a different reading of this version of Ibn al-Aʿīr namely that Ḥuḡr became the first king of Kinda, which had previously descended to complete anarchy. Al-Yaʿqūbī, I: 247, contents himself with stating that Ḥuḡr b.ʿAmr reigned after Wabḥ b. al-Ḥārīt for 23 years.

The only explanation that is given in Arabian tradition of the power of Ḥuḡr over the tribes of Maʿadd is consequently the South Arabian one that a prince of Ḥimyar had established him as governor. The actual central idea, that of dependence on the Ḥimyarites, may be historically correct. That on the other hand neither of the two Ḥimyaritic kings that the Arabian tradition mentions, is to be found in the fragments of their tables of kings, given in the inscriptions, is perhaps due, as M. HARTMANN<sup>3</sup> considers probable, to the Arabian tradition having substituted

<sup>1</sup> Cf. GLASER, *Altjemenische Studien*, Leipzig 1923, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> ʿIqd, III: 77<sub>22</sub>, Ibn Badrūn, p. 119<sub>13</sub>, Ibn Nubāta, RASMUSSEN, *Add.* p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Die arabische Frage, Der islamische Orient II*, Leipzig 1909, p. 479.

usual North Arabian names for the Ḥimyaritic ones, which had fallen into oblivion, and further Tubba' is used, now as a name, now as a title, for a great many kings. Ḥassān b. Tubba' is in I. Q., Ma'ārif p. 307, Ṭab. I: 775, and other passages mentioned as son of As'ad Abūkarib, who is called Tubba' al-awsaṭ b. Kulaykarib. Possibly one of them is meant by Tubba' b. Karib (see above, p. 39). The attempt of HARTMANN<sup>1</sup> to identify the tabābi'a of the traditions with the kings of the inscriptions gives the result that the said Ḥassān b. Tubba' should be the same as Šarahbil Ya'fur, who is mentioned in the year 450 in an inscription of Ma'rib, GLASER 554, and whose father is called Abīkarib As'ad. In spite of this fascinating result one must not attach too great a value to such an attempt, which remains a conjecture not founded on evidence. Consequently the above-mentioned tradition cannot form any strong support for fixing a date for the raising of Ḥuḡr to the rank of king over the Arabian tribes in Naḡd.

All that the quoted traditions and others (see Ṭab. I: 881 ff.) relate about military activities on the part of the Ḥimyaritic kings against Persia or its vassals in al-Ḥira, in connection with which Ḥuḡr or one of his descendants was placed as governor over Ma'add, we have, like HARTMANN<sup>2</sup>, to consider as borrowed from the attacks, made by the Kindites themselves on al-'Irāq, and supported by the Ḥimyarites.

According to the two traditions in Ibn Ḥaldūn, mentioned above, Ḥuḡr is not only knitted to the rulers of Ḥimyar as their governor. He is also said to have been connected with them by consanguinity. This is however manifestly repugnant to the South Arabian tradition of Ibn al-Kalbī, Ṭab. I: 881, where it is considered as something unheard of when a daughter of the said Ḥassān is given in marriage to 'Amr, the son of Ḥuḡr. Equally incompatible with the latter tradition is a statement in Ag. VIII: 63<sub>pp</sub>, based by Abū-l-Faraḡ on »all the informants«, that the mother of the sons of Ḥuḡr, 'Amr and Mu'āwiya, was Šu'ba, daughter of Abū Mu'āhir b. Ḥassān b. 'Amr b. Tubba', in whom, in spite of the confusion in his nasab, we may possibly recognize Dū Mu'āhir, that is to say the Ḥassān b. Tubba' As'ad Abū Karib in

<sup>1</sup> Arab. Frage, p. 481 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 492 note.

Tab. I: 774<sub>11</sub>. We have no possibility of settling what may be the historical background, if there is one at all, for the different versions of the kinship between the dynasty of Ḥimyar and that of Kinda. It is possible that everything is fiction, an invention to explain the alliance of the princes of Kinda with the Ḥimy-arites, but it may also be built on some real foundation.

The tradition makes Ḥuḡr enter into alliances by marriage not only with Ḥimyar. The wife of his that is most frequently mentioned by Ibn al-Kalbī (Aḡ. XV: 86) and others (see below, p. 42 f.) is Hind Hunūd, daughter of Zālim b. Wabb b. al-Ḥarīṭ and consequently second cousin to Ḥuḡr and granddaughter of the Kindite that al-Ya'qūbī mentions as his predecessor. A sister of hers (I. Q., Ma'ārif, p. 296<sub>10</sub>, and Aḡ. IX: 167<sub>3</sub>, also there from Ibn Qutayba among others) is said to be Māriya, the wife of one of the Ḡassānites, al-Ḥarīṭ al-akbar (whereas Ibn Nubāta<sup>1</sup> makes this Māriya her daughter, evidently a slip of the pen). That the name of the Ḡassānite is, as often<sup>2</sup>, not correct does not exclude the possibility of a relationship really having existed between Kinda and Ḡassān.

As a third wife of Ḥuḡr's one may be tempted to consider Umm Iyās, a daughter of 'Awf b. Muḥallim aṣ-Ṣaybānī of Bakr b. Wā'il, because of an account based on Abū 'Ubayda, in Aḡ. XV: 87<sub>19</sub>, where she is said to be the mother of al-Ḥarīṭ b. Ḥuḡr and Hind bint Ḥuḡr (see below, p. 49). It is however probable that we have to see in her a wife of 'Amr's, the son of Ḥuḡr (see below, p. 48 f.).

While all the traditions that connect Ḥuḡr with the politics of Ḥimyar make him rule over the Banū Ma'add without giving any further determination — only Ibn Sa'īd (Ibn Ḥaldūn, II: 276<sub>3</sub>) adds curiously enough »in Ḥiḡāz« — that is to say over the North Arabians in general, the Kalbitic tradition tells us in Aḡ. XV: 86 that he was king of Rabī'a b. Nizār and lived in Ḡamr dī Kinda and made military expeditions with the tribes of Rabī'a to Baḥrayn. According to Ibn al-Aṭīr I: 375<sub>3</sub>, it is at the head of the tribe of Bakr that he makes his attacks on the frontiers of the Laḥmites and deprives them of their possessions in the country of Bakr, and the place, where he lived, is called Baḥn

<sup>1</sup> RASMUSSEN, Add., p. 58a.

<sup>2</sup> See NÖLDEKE, Ghassaniden, p. 22.



‘Āqil (according to Yāqūt III: 589 ff., immediately south of Wādī-r-Rumma on the road between Meccah and al-Baṣra). Al-Ya‘qūbī, I: 247, only says that he brought about the alliance between Kinda and Rabī‘a, which was established at ad-Danā‘ib (according to Hamd. 146<sub>23</sub>, a couple of hills near ad-Daṭīna in the country of the tribes of Rabī‘a, and by MORITZ<sup>1</sup> placed in al-Ḥazm, about 110 km. south-south-west of Ḍariya). No other tribes than those of Rabī‘a are mentioned as subject to Ḥuḡr, but (in one of the additions that he makes to the Kalbitic account in Ag. XV: 86) Ibn al-Aṭīr I: 370<sub>pu</sub> calls Ḥuḡr »king of Arabs in Naḡd and in the border-lands of al-‘Irāq», which presupposes a tradition of a dominion of greater extent than the region of the tribes of Rabī‘a, unless we have, here as so often, to do with a confusion between Ḥuḡr and his grandson al-Ḥārīt. That the dominion of Ḥuḡr embraced not only the tribes of Rabī‘a, which were probably living in Eastern Naḡd about this time, but also al-Yamāma, is evidently the opinion of the tradition, which in Ag. VIII: 63 is said to be generally accepted, that his son Mu‘āwiya became ruler over al-Yamāma after his death. The probable thing is that his dominion stretched over most of Central Arabia. The extent, as given by Yāqūt IV: 746<sub>10</sub>, of the dominion of Ḥuḡr the Kindite may refer to the territory, over which Ḥuḡr b. al-Ḥārīt (see below, p. 73 f.) ruled.

If the military expeditions that the traditions mention, made by Ḥuḡr together with the tribes of Rabī‘a against the Lahmites, are perhaps to be considered rather as duplicates of the expeditions of his grandson al-Ḥārīt, we must on the contrary consider Ḥuḡr as the original hero of the many different versions with regard to the origin of the surname of Ākil al-murār that are knitted now to him, now to al-Ḥārīt. Also others, first the grandfather of Ḥuḡr, Mu‘āwiya (Muf. p. 429<sub>1</sub>, a mistake according to a note of LYALL’s), are called so. There is not much to say about the explanation of the name itself; either Ḥuḡr himself is said to have eaten a bitter herb, murār, or he is compared to a camel that has eaten murār. But what is interesting are the persons and events that are met with in the story. The Kalbitic tradition, Ag. XV: 86, relates that when Ḥuḡr, who lived in Ḡamr

<sup>1</sup> Arabien, Hannover 1923, map p. 58.

ḡī Kinda, together with the tribes of Rabī'a was on a military expedition in al-Baḥrayn, Ziyād b. al-Habūla b. 'Amr b. 'Awf b. Duḡ'am b. Ḥamāṭa b. Sa'd b. Salīh of Quḍā'a devastated his country, and took prisoners, among them his wife Hind. Having been informed of this, Ḥuḡr hastened after him, accompanied by the principal members of the tribe of Bakr, among others 'Awf b. Muḥallim, Šalī' b. 'Abd Ḡanm, and 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya, three cousins of the family of Duḥl b. Šaybān, further Sadūs b. Šaybān b. Duḥl, Dabī'a b. Qays b. Ta'laba and 'Āmir b. Malik b. Taym Allah b. Ta'laba. They pursued Ziyād as far as al-Ḥufayr near 'Ayn Ubāḡ (according to Yāqūt between the Euphrates and Syria). Šalī' and Sadūs succeeded in entering his camp, where the latter heard Hind warning Ziyād against Ḥuḡr, who, as she knew, would not leave off pursuing them, until he saw the red castles (of Syria). She said she saw him already among the horse-men of B. Šaybān, revengeful and eager, with the corners of his mouth foaming, like a camel that has eaten murār. Further she said that she hated Ḥuḡr and had wished to get rid of him. When Ḥuḡr heard of this, he advanced against the camp of Ziyād, where a violent fight arose. Sadūs and 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya killed Ziyād and took his booty. Ḥuḡr recaptured Hind and had her tied between two horses to be torn to pieces. — In connection with this tradition we also find, Ag. VIII: 85 and 88, some verses that are said to have been made by Ḥuḡr on account of the perfidy of Hind.

لَمَنْ النَّارُ أَوْقَدَتْ بِحَفِيرٍ	لَمْ يَنْمَ عِنْدَ مُصْطَلٍ مَقْرُورٍ
أَوْقَدَتْهَا أَحَدَى الْهِنُودِ وَقَالَتْ	أَنْتَ ذَا مَوْتٍ وَثَاقَ الْأَسِيرِ
إِنَّ مَنْ غَرَّهَ النِّسَاءُ بِشَيْءٍ	بَعْدَ هِنْدٍ لَجَاهِلٌ مَغْرُورٌ
حُلُوةَ الْقَوْلِ <sup>1</sup> وَاللِّسَانِ وَمُرٌّ	كُلُّ شَيْءٍ أَجَنٌّ مِنْهَا الضَّمِيرُ
كُلُّ أَتْنَى وَإِنْ بَدَا لَكَ مِنْهَا	آيَةُ الْحَبِّ حُبُّهَا خَيْتَعُورٌ

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Nubāta العَيْنِ



Whose is the fire that has been kindled in Ḥafir? With a person who warms himself at a fire, nobody feels cold when sleeping.

A certain Hind kindled it, and she said: »Thou art he that bindest the bands of the captive.»

But everybody, whom the women deceive in any way after Hind's perfidy, is stupid and easily duped.

Sweet were her voice (glances) and words, but bitter was all that her heart concealed.

In love every woman, even she who gives you proof of her love, is like a mirage.

Ibn Nubāta, RASMUSSEN, Add. p. 38, also has the last three of these verses but instead of the two first two others with contents which however are of no importance to us.

This poem is of course no evidence for the correctness of the Kalbitic tradition, as its authenticity is extraordinarily doubtful.

Among the many divergences from this Kalbitic version the following chief points are to be noted. Not to Ḥuġr but to al-Ḥārīt the version of Ibn Hišām, p. 953<sub>16</sub>, refers (he adds, however, p. 954<sub>7</sub>, that Ḥuġr is also said to have been the hero of this story), as also those of Ibn Nubāta, p. 38 (otherwise agreeing with Ag. XV: 86) and Ibn Badrūn, p. 120<sub>1</sub>. Instead of Hind Ibn Hišām calls the wife of al-Ḥārīt Umm Unās, daughter of Awf b. Muḥallim, who in the version of Abū 'Ubayda, Ag. XV: 87<sub>19</sub>, under the name of Umm Uyās, beside Hind plays the leading female part without however expressly being said to be the wife of Ḥuġr (with regard to this, see further p. 49). According to Ibn al-Aṭīr I: 371<sub>12</sub> Umm Unās, the future wife of al-Ḥārīt, was born just about the time of the expedition against Ziyād.

Neither are the Arabian authors unanimous as to the name of the enemy of Ḥuġr. Hamza al-Iṣfahānī, p. 140<sub>1</sub>, differs only in the spelling, Diyād b. al-Hayūla (RASMUSSEN, Hist. p. 61, has however al-Habūla), from the name given above by the Kalbitic tradition. Ag. VIII: 63 has al-Ḥārīt b. Ġabala, al-Hamdānī, p. 86, speaks of one of Ġassān, al-Maydānī<sup>1</sup> has the same story about al-Ḥārīt b. Mandala, one of the Daġā'ima of B. Salīh, and Ibn

<sup>1</sup> Arabum Proverbia, ed. FREYTAG, Bonnæ 1838—43, II: 550.

Hišām, p. 953, gives us the name of 'Amr b al-Habūla al-Ġassānī (Ibn al-Aṭīr I: 371<sub>6</sub> has once, instead of Ziyād, 'Amr) which may very well denote one of the Daġā'ima, as the tribe of Salīh, to which this dynasty belonged, is numbered with Ġassān, for instance by Ibn Qutayba, Ma'ārif p. 313. Ibn al-Aṭīr says, I: 374<sub>16</sub>, that Abū 'Ubayda, in his version of this story, means by Ibn Habūla Ġalīb b. Habūla, one of the kings of Ġassān, and Ibn Badrūn, p. 120, has a certain 'Abd Yalīl, otherwise unknown. As the antagonist of Ḥuġr we find consequently in most versions one of the princes of the Daġā'ima of B. Salīh. These were, earlier than the Ġassānites, the vassals of Byzantium in Syria, where, from the end of the fourth century for about 100 years, they had a dominion, which gradually yielded to the Ġassānites<sup>1</sup>. Therefore Ziyād, according to the evidence of the genealogists (Ibn Durayd, p. 319, note) one of the last of them, is to be dated to the second half of the fifth century. That, when the story above has been referred to al-Ḥārīt, one has wanted to look for his enemy in the person of one of the Ġassānites, contemporary with him, preferably al-Ḥārīt b. Ġabala, is a sufficient explanation for the presence of the latter in some of the traditions.

With regard to the geographical statements regarding the expedition of Ziyād there is only to be added that the tradition of Abū 'Ubayda, Ag. XV: 87<sub>24</sub>, says that Ibn al-Habūla on his way back stayed for some days in the verdant Ḍarīya, and Ibn al-Aṭīr I: 371<sub>6</sub> has the following localization of the encounter between Ḥuġr and Ziyād: they reached 'Amr (sic! cf. Ibn Hišām, p. 953) in al-Baradān near 'Ayn Ubāġ and pitched their camp near aṣ-Ṣaḥṣaḥān (according to Yāqūt a mountain in Syria between Ḥalab and Tadmur) at a well called Ḥafir (= al-Ḥufayr).

About the death of Ḥuġr complete agreement prevails among the traditions. He died, it is said, after a long and happy reign, from decrepitude. The position of his tomb is only mentioned once, in Ibn al-Aṭīr, I: 375<sub>7</sub>, and is said to be Baṭn 'Āqil.

Even though the South Arabian tradition combined with the attempt, mentioned above (see p. 40), of HARTMANN to identify its Ḥimyaritic princes, as well as the generally accepted con-

<sup>1</sup> See MORITZ, Sinaikultus, p. 53, and NÖLDEKE, Ghassāniden, p. 8.

temporaneousness with the last princes of the Dağā'ima of B.Salīh, distinctly indicates the second half of the fifth century as the probable time of the power of Ḥuḡr in Nağd, we cannot, in either case, find anything but more or less weak support for the result that a determination of his life in a genealogical way gives us. His grandson al-Ḥārit forms here the starting-point, as we can certainly fix his death to the year 528 (see below, p. 54). Ḥuḡr is thus to be dated two generations, that is to say about 50 years, earlier, and consequently his reign must be considered to have fallen within the third quarter of the fifth century. Though his dominion and his adventures fall entirely under the legend, we may consider him as historical in his quality of ancestor of the following kings of Kinda thanks to an inscription, which, according to Yāqūt II: 709, was to be read on the monastery of Dayr Hind in al-Ḥīra and enumerated the names of the Kindite genealogy of the foundress, queen Hind, as far back as to Ḥuḡr.

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## CHAPTER V.

### 'Amr al-Maḡṣūr.

As sons of Ḥuḡr and Šu'ba, the Ḥimyaritic princess, Aḡ. VIII: 63<sub>28</sub>, basing its statement on »all informants», mentions 'Amr al-Maḡṣūr and Mu'āwiya al-Ġawn, of whom the former became king after his father, and the latter obtained dominion over al-Yamāma, where, after the fall of the kingdom of Kinda, we again meet with his descendants, who then at the head of the tribe leave for Ḥaḍramawt and there keep their power over Kinda until the time of the prophet (with regard to this see Hamd. p. 85, Ibn Hišām p. 953, and others).

'Amr al-Maḡṣūr, so called, says the Kalbitic tradition, Muf. p. 429 and others, because he was limited (qaṣara = limit) — against his will, adds Aḡ. VIII: 63<sub>18</sub> — to his father's domain, that is to say he did not succeed in further expanding it, has not taken so prominent a place in tradition as his father. He has evidently had to be content with very little power, has probably been chief of only a branch of Kinda, as his ancestors had been before Ḥuḡr Ākil al-murār. This fits in well with the appearance of the tribes of Rabī'a under the guidance of the powerful chief of Taḡlib, Kulayb Wā'il, which has to be fixed to the same time (see below, p. 50). Thus it is explicitly told in another version of the explanation of the name of al-Maḡṣūr, which is mentioned by al-Anbārī, Muf. p. 429<sub>2</sub>, as differing from that of Ibn al-Kalbī given above: »Rabī'a denied him the dominion his father had had, and therefore he was called al-Maḡṣūr». In its immediate continuation the Kalbitic tradition relates that 'Amr applied to Martad b. 'Abd Yankuf of Ḥimyar for assistance against Rabī'a, and was supported by him with a great army. And a battle was fought at al-Qanān (according to Hamd., p. 174<sub>10</sub> et passim, a mountain among B. Asad), where 'Amir al-Ġawn van-

quished 'Amr al-Maḡṣūr and killed him. This story is certainly unknown to but is not incompatible with the South Arabian tradition of Ibn al-Kalbī, Ṭab. I: 880 f., where it is related how king Ḥassān b. Tubba' took into his service 'Amr b. Ḥuḡr, son of the chief of Kinda, whom on his way to Ḡadīs he had made his governor, and how 'Amr b. Tubba', after having killed his brother, patronized the clever 'Amr b. Ḥuḡr and gave him his niece in marriage, which was viewed unfavourably by the Ḥimyarites, as it was not usual for the Bedouins (al-'arab) to enter into an alliance with the dynasty.

Al-Ḥayṭam, in Ag. VIII: 65, and al-Ya'qūbī I: 247 relate that 'Amr was also at war with the Ḡassānites and was not successful in that direction either, but had to lose his life in a fight against al-Ḥārīt b. Abū-Šamir. NÖLDEKE, Ghassāniden p. 22, means probably this passage of Ag. and not Ag. VIII: 25, where neither al-Ḥārīt b. Abū Šamir nor any prince of Kinda is mentioned, and then we must correct his statement in so far that 'Amr, and not Ḥuḡr, his father, is said to have been killed by al-Ḥārīt b. Abū Šamir.

Finally one may possibly see an indication of a connection between Kinda under 'Amr al-Maḡṣūr and the Laḡmites in al-Ḥira in the statement of Ibn al-Kalbī (Hamza p. 104, and Ṭab. I: 900,) that a daughter of 'Amr, Umm al-Malik, was the mother of an-Nu'mān b. al-Aswad (see below, p. 58 ff.), who was king of al-Ḥira for 4 years, when Qubād reigned in Persia (according to ROTHSTEIN, p. 70, for the years 499—503).

Tradition speaks of two women as the wives of 'Amr. One is Umm Iyās, daughter of 'Awf b. Muḡallim b. Duḡl b. Šaybān b. Ta'laba and according to al-Ḥayṭam, Ag. VIII: 65, mother of 'Amr's successor, al-Ḥārīt. The other wife is mentioned by Ibn al-Kalbī in his South Arabian tradition, Ṭab. I: 881, as daughter of Ḥassān b. Tubba' of Ḥimyar and she too as mother of al-Ḥārīt. The story of the Ḥimyaritic princess, whose name is not mentioned, belongs to the hardly credible »South Arabian« tradition, and we cannot attribute any great importance to it. Then it fits better that Umm Iyās, the daughter of 'Awf of Ta'laba, a branch of Bakr b. Wā'il, was the mother of al-Ḥārīt. Support for such descent we find in Theophanes, cols 440 and 445, where



he mentions a certain Ἀρσένος ὁ Θαλαβάνης, who no doubt is the Kindite al-Ḥarīṭ b. ʿAmr (see below, p. 51 f.).

This Umm Iyās or Umm Unās is the same as we have met with in the story of the origin of the name of Ākil al-murār, now as wife of al-Ḥarīṭ (Ibn Hišām, p. 953), now as accompanying Ḥuḡr (Aḡ. XV: 87<sub>19</sub>, based on Abū ʿUbayda). In both cases an utterance about al-Ḥarīṭ or Ḥuḡr respectively is put into her mouth that does not occur in the tales of Hind. She describes him as »a man as black as coal« (the same expression is to be found in Ibn Badrūn, p. 120, about al-Ḥarīṭ, where, however, the name of his wife is not mentioned), which seems suitable to have been said by the North Arabian woman but not by Hind, who herself belonged to the more dark-complexioned South Arabians. It is very probable that we have here a feature from another tradition, which did not originally belong to the story of Ākil al-murār. — It is not stated in Aḡ. XV: 87 that Umm Iyās was a wife of Ḥuḡr's, though her children are called al-Ḥarīṭ b. Ḥuḡr and Hind bint Ḥuḡr, in whom we recognize al-Ḥarīṭ b. ʿAmr b. Ḥuḡr and his daughter Hind, who according to the inscription mentioned above (see p. 46) became the wife of al-Mundir in al-Ḥira, which is here (line 24) said about Hind bint Ḥuḡr, nor is it made evident from the two verses by Bišr b. Abū Ḥāzim, quoted there:

فَالَيْ أَبْنِ أُمِّ أَيَّاسٍ أَعْمَلُ نَاقَتِي    عَمْرٍو فَتَنْجَحُ حَاجَتِي أَوْ تَرْجَفُ

مَلِكٍ إِذَا نَزَلَ الْوُفُودُ بَبَابِهِ    عَرَفُوا غَوَارِبَ مُزَيْدٍ مَا يَنْزِفُ

Lead my camel to ʿAmr, the son of Umm Uyās, whether my errand meets with success or not.

A king, at whose door the strangers, who have sat down there, get acquainted with the foaming waves of sparkling wine, which does not run short.

These are said (line 21) to refer to a son of al-Ḥarīṭ (see below, p. 68 f.) but ʿAmr b. al-Mundir, the king of al-Ḥira and son of Hind, is, being contemporary with Bišr, still more suitable.

To him the mu'allāqa of al-Ḥarīṭ, v. 63<sup>1</sup> (84)<sup>2</sup>, possibly also alludes, though the commentator<sup>2</sup> refers it to 'Amr al-Maḡṣūr.

وَوَلَدْنَا عَمْرَو بْنَ أُمِّ إِيَّاسٍ<sup>3</sup> مِنْ قَرِيبٍ لَمَّا أَتَانَا الْجَاءُ

'Amr b. Umm Iyās (Unās) has been born in near kinship to us, after the wedding-gift has come into our hands.

Everything fits in well, if only we translate »ibn» and »bint» by »descendant» and not literally by »son» and »daughter» respectively.

Just as in the case of Ḥuḡr we cannot with regard to 'Amr state anything for certain but that he existed as a link in the chain of the princes of Kinda. But it is extremely likely that he, as well as his father, owed his power to the Ḥimyaritic princes. Therefore one may be justified in concluding a connection between the sinking power of the kingdom of Kinda during his time and the victorious fights, mentioned by the traditions, of the tribes of Rabī'a under Kulayb against al-Yaman during the time immediately before the war of al-Basūs, which, caused by the murder of Kulayb, began in the last decade of the fifth century<sup>4</sup>. That 'Amr was killed in these struggles I consider more likely, than that he found his slayer in a Gassānite. His power was no doubt limited to regions more to the south.

<sup>1</sup> Septem Mo'allakāt, ed. F. A. ARNOLD, Lipsiæ 1850.

<sup>2</sup> Commentary on ten ancient arabic poems, ed. C. J. LYALL, Calcutta 1894.

<sup>3</sup> ed. LYALL أَنَاسٍ

<sup>4</sup> See Enzyklopädie des Islām, art. Bakr.



## Al-Hārīt b.ʿAmr.

With al-Hārīt b.ʿAmr the dynasty of Kinda not only attains its greatest power, but then also steps forth into the light of history. If we have previously only dealt with conjectures, supported by legends, and relative statements of time, based on the number and supposed average length of the generations, we are now able, starting from certain fixed dates in Byzantine and Syriac sources, to get a rather clear picture of the fortunes and importance of al-Hārīt b.ʿAmr.

Theophanes mentions<sup>1</sup> that Romanus, the Palestinian governor of the emperor Anastasius, in the year 490 (the date stated in Theophanes is no doubt wrong and has to be corrected to about the year 497, see below, p. 53) defeated two Arabian chiefs called Γαβάλας (also Γάμαλος) and Ἀγαρος ὁ τοῦ Ἀρέθα τοῦ τῆς Θαλαβάνης ὀνομαζομένου παιδός. The former of these, in whom together with NÖLDEKE (Ghassāniden, p. 10) we recognize the father of al-Hārīt b.Ġabala of Ġafna, he expelled from the country, and took Ἀγαρος prisoner, who no doubt is Ḥuġr, a son of al-Hārīt of Kinda, whose mother according to the Arabian tradition belonged to Taʿlaba of Bakr.

Four years after that Theophanes<sup>2</sup> makes another prince of Kinda enter the stage. He is a brother of Ἀγαρος, called Βαδισχάρμιος, which we find again in the Arabian name of Maʿdikarib. With violence and fierceness he ravages and devastates Syria and succeeds in continually avoiding the Roman troops. Ḥuġr takes no part in this military expedition, though he must have been released from his captivity, from which Theophanes concludes that he is dead.

<sup>1</sup> Chronographia, A. C. 490 (col. 340).

<sup>2</sup> Chronographia, A. C. 494 (col. 344).

These attacks of the sons of al-Ḥārīt against the border-lands of the Roman empire resulted according to Theophanes<sup>1</sup> in the emperor Anastasius concluding in the following year a peace with Ἀρέθας ὁ τῆς Θαλαβάνης λεγόμενος, the father of Βαδυχάριμος and Ἀγαρος, through which Palestine, Arabia, and Phenicia got peace and quiet. This peace is also mentioned by Nonnosus, when he says that his grandfather had been sent by Anastasius to Ἀρέθας, the chief of the Saracens, to conclude a peace. About the conditions of this peace neither Theophanes nor Nonnosus makes any mention, but it is fairly certain that, beside the negative condition that al-Ḥārīt and his sons should refrain from further invading Roman territory, they also included a positive clause concerning an alliance between the Romans and the prince of Kinda, directed against Persia and its vassals in al-Ḥira. For we find according to the chronicle of Joshua the Stylite, ch. 57, that »the Arabs of the Romans, who were called the Ta'la-bites», in the year 503 marched against Ḥirtā d° Na'mān (the Ḥira of an-Nu'mān) and made themselves masters of a caravan, which was on the way there. But the Ḥirta, by which a movable camp is probably understood here, retired and escaped being taken, the possibility however not being excluded that the town of al-Ḥira is meant, whose usual Syriac name is Ḥirtā d° Na'mān, and that its inhabitants retreated on the arrival of the enemy. That we have here to deal with the same Ta'laba, a branch of Bakr, that we have found as being the origin of al-Ḥārīt on his mother's side (see above, p. 48), is certainly far more probable than that this name, as NÖLDEKE (Ghassāniden, p. 6) supposes, should refer to the princes of Ḡassān. These are not called so anywhere else. The fact that in the chronicle of Joshua the Stylite they are called »The Arabs of the Romans» certainly argues in favour of an identification with the princes of Ḡassān, but, as ROTHSTEIN (Lahmiden, p. 91 f.) proves, this denomination may well have also been used about the dependants of the prince of Kinda, after al-Ḥārīt had leagued himself with the Romans. And just about that time Bakr and Taglib were the most important factor of the kingdom of Kinda at least with regard to the expeditions against the Lahmites (see below, p. 58), and therefore to make use of the name of Ta'laba, one of the

<sup>1</sup> Chronographia, A. C. 495 (col. 345).

principal branches of the tribe of Bakr, and moreover related to the dynasty of Kinda, for the companions of al-Hārīt is by no means impossible.

After that the non-Arabian sources are silent about al-Hārīt, till we get a piece of information about his death in John Malalas<sup>1</sup> and also, founded on him, in Theophanes<sup>2</sup>. They relate that the Roman commander in Palestine, Diomedes, fell out with a chief called Ἀρέθης, who through fear of Diomedes retired »inwards towards the frontier of τὰ Ἰνδιὰ» (that is in this case South or East Arabia, which was often considered by the Byzantines to belong to India). But when Ἀλαμούνδαρος, the chief of the Saracens under Persian rule, heard of this, he attacked and killed him, took his property as booty and captured his family. As soon as Justinianus got to know this, he commanded the governors of Phenicia, Arabia, and Mesopotamia, as well as οἱ τῶν ἐπαρχῶν φύλαρχοι, whereby are evidently understood Arabian vassals in the border-lands, to pursue Ἀλαμούνδαρος and his army. Not only the governors Dionysius of Phenicia, John of Euphratesia, and Sebastianus, ὁ χιλιάρχος, but also Ἀρέθης ὁ φύλαρχος, and Γνούφης, and Νααμάν then immediately went off, the former of whom is doubtless the prince of Gassān al-Hārīt b. Ġabala, who now after the death of the other Ἀρέθης, that is to say al-Hārīt the Kindite, was to become the special confederate of the Romans against the Lahmite al-Mundir in al-Hira during the struggles against Persia and this its vassal king. This discovery of »the two Ἀρέθης» and their relation to each other, first made by GUTSCHMID (see NÖLDEKE, Sasaniden, p. 171) has been commonly acknowledged and supplies, as mentioned, the starting point of the chronology of the kingdom of Kinda.

That the absolute statements of time in Theophanes are often incorrect is generally acknowledged (see e. g. NÖLDEKE, Sasaniden, p. 466) and is evident from the very fact that he fixes the beginning of the reign of the emperor Anastasius to the year 484, that of Justinus to the year 511, and that of Justinianus to the year 520, that is to say 7 years too early throughout. A corresponding correction of the other dates too may appear well grounded and would often be so too, even though certain facts argue against

<sup>1</sup> Chronographia, lib. XVIII (col. 641).

<sup>2</sup> Chronographia, A. C. 521 (col. 413).

it, such as the correct stating of the year 488 for the Persian emperor Qubād's succession to the throne and a divergence of not seven but thirteen (or ten) years from what is historically correct for the first year of the reign of his successor, Anūšīrwān.

John Malalas has fixed the death of al-Ḥārīt to the beginning of the year 528<sup>1</sup> and, based on this too, we preliminarily correct the above dates in Theophanes concerning the princes of Kinda to the years 497, 501, 502, and 528 respectively, in order eventually to get these approximate years verified or further corrected by a comparison with other dates.

If we then go to the Arabian sources, we find many detailed stories about al-Ḥārīt, but unfortunately we cannot by a long way attach to them the credibility that the Byzantine ones enjoy.

We have already mentioned (see above, p. 39), how al-Ḥārīt has often been confused with his grandfather Ḥuḡr and has had to appear in the legends that are told about the latter, but on the other hand the account of the rise of al-Ḥārīt to dominion over the tribes of Rabi'a has been applied to Ḥuḡr with considerable or no alterations. The reason for these confusions is of course to be found in the similar importance that Ḥuḡr and al-Ḥārīt enjoyed with regard to the kingdom of Kinda as its founder and reviver respectively.

The Kalbitic tradition in Muf. p. 429 does not say how al-Ḥārīt obtained dominion over either Kinda or the tribes of Ma'add, but only that he was king for 40 years (to which Ibn al-Aṭīr I: 406<sub>8</sub> and 'Abd al-Qādir Hiz. II: 501<sub>26</sub> add the comment: »Other people say for 60 years.«) over both residents and nomads.

The South Arabian tradition of Ibn al-Kalbī, however, supplies the news in Tab. I: 881<sub>18</sub> that al-Ḥārīt was sent by his maternal uncle Tubba' b. Ḥassān b. Tubba' b. Malikaykarib b. Tubba' al-Aqran with a great army to the country of Ma'add, from where he went on against al-Ḥīra. In further details about Ma'add this tradition takes no interest. The Ḥimyaritic prince that is mentioned here corresponds according to HARTMANN<sup>2</sup> to a son of Šarahbi'il Ya'fur called Šarahbi'il Yakkuf, known through an inscription from the year 467<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See NÖLDEKE, Ghassāniden, p. 11 and note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Arab. Frage p. 497

<sup>3</sup> See GLASER, Zwei Inschriften, p. 26.

A third version, the Bakritic one, is given by Ibn al-Kalbī in Muf. p. 427, where it is related that Kinda under the command of al-Ḥārīt had come and made him king of Bakr b. Wā'il, which tribe allied itself with him and fought under him.

That al-Ḥārīt in Hamza, p. 140, as in Ibn Ḥaldūn II: 276, is called al-Maqsūr, cannot be supported by a reference to Ag. XIX: 127<sub>23</sub>, where the name of al-Ḥārīt al-malik al-manṣūr ought evidently to be corrected to al-Ḥārīt al-malik b. 'Amr al-Maqsūr. While Hamza here, omitting 'Amr only says, that al-Ḥārīt b. 'Amr b. Ḥuḡr became king after Ḥuḡr, he follows on page 131, the above-mentioned South Arabian tradition and has on page 107 an account, more in agreement with the Bakritic tradition, in which, when the power of the Persian king Qubād<sup>1</sup> weakened, the tribe of Bakr b. Wā'il is said to have sent for al-Ḥārīt and made him king in order to take vengeance on the king of al-Ḥīra under his guidance.

Abū 'Ubayda proves partly to be influenced by the South Arabian tradition, partly to have obvious points of contact with the Bakritic one. Thus it is related in Naq. p. 267<sub>2</sub> that Tubba' sent al-Ḥārīt to Bakr as its king and that al-Ḥārīt then subjugated most of the other Bedouin tribes and had his camp in Baṭn 'Āqil. In 'Iqd. III: 77<sub>21</sub> (also reproduced by Ibn Badrūn p. 120<sub>1</sub>) we find the more complete tradition about this, based on Abū 'Ubayda, according to which Bakr, divided by internal feuds, approaches Tubba' and yields to him. He then put al-Ḥārīt, who came and settled down in Baṭn 'Āqil, over the tribe<sup>2</sup>.

Somewhat differing from this, Ibn Nubāta (RASMUSSEN, Add. p. 38) relates that when Bakr and Taglib were exhausted by the war of Basūs, al-Ḥārīt b. 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya al-Kindī, king of Kinda, tried to act as an intermediary and suggested that they should make him their king. They accepted his proposal, and he came and effected a reconciliation between them.

Ibn Qutayba includes the South Arabian tradition in Ma'arif p. 310<sub>1</sub> and in Šī'r p. 43<sub>2</sub> (= Ag. VIII: 65<sub>1</sub>), but also has in the latter passage the statement that it was Qubād of Persia, to whom al-Ḥārīt owed his power over the Arabs, which however must

<sup>1</sup> For this and other Persian names, I use the Arabic forms.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 39 and 66.



allude to a later period, when al-Ḥārīt, who was then already master of Naǧd, extended his dominion even to Persian domains.

Al-Haytam b. 'Adī (Ag. VIII: 65<sub>4</sub>), as well as al-Ya'qūbī I: 247, and »all the informants« of Ag. VIII: 63<sub>pm</sub>, only says that al-Ḥārīt became king after his father.

A form of South Arabian tradition, other than that transmitted by Ibn al-Kalbī, is found in ad-Dīnawarī p. 53<sub>u</sub>, where it is related that it was an usurper on the throne of Ḥimyar, Ṣuhbān b. Dū Ḥarb, 'Amr b. Tubba's successor, who, when he went to Tihāma to bring order among the descendants of Ma'add b. 'Adnān, on their asking for a king gave them al-Ḥārīt b. 'Amr of Kinda, because on his mother's side he was related to Ma'add, his mother belonging to B. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a. Here, accordingly, there is no question of kinship between the dynasties of Kinda and Ḥimyar.

An-Nuwayrī has a tradition, quoted from Ibn Ḥamdūn (Hist. Joct. p. 74), slightly suggestive of that of ad-Dīnawarī: Ṣahbān b. Mhrt sent his cousin on his mother's side, al-Ḥārīt b. 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya of Kinda, who was called Ākil al-murār, as governor over Sa'd (read Ma'dd) b. 'Adnān.

There is not much in all these statements that can be considered trustworthy. So much may however be certain, namely that al-Ḥārīt succeeded his father as king over the weakened Kinda and only after some time obtained dominion also over Bakr and other tribes. We cannot state any fixed date for either event. The 40 years of the reign of al-Ḥārīt that the Kalbitic tradition mentions, is probably a round number for a long time, but might however give a correct approximate date of the dominion of al-Ḥārīt over Kinda as being from about the year 490. If we then fix the extension of his power over the other tribes to about 5 years later, we get an agreement between the date in Theophanes (duly corrected) for the first attack of the sons of al-Ḥārīt on the borders of the Roman empire and the statement of the Arabian tradition, based on Abū 'Ubayda (see below, p. 57), that al-Ḥārīt, as soon as he had obtained dominion over Bakr (or Rabī'a), employed them on military expeditions against Ḡassān, which tribe was as early as about that time living on Roman territory<sup>1</sup>, and Laḥm.

<sup>1</sup> See MORITZ, Sinaikultus, p. 53.



From the different names of the Himyaritic rulers, of whom the different traditions relate that they put al-Ḥārīt over Ma'add or part of it, no dates are to be derived, as they are not mentioned in the inscriptions. That al-Ḥārīt owed his power over the North Arabians to his relations with Himyar may be certain, even though we cannot attach any weight to the South Arabian tradition of al-Ḥārīt being a nephew of Tubba', which we have rejected above (p. 48). It is impossible to determine how it came about that Bakr (or Rabī'a) submitted to al-Ḥārīt. That it did not happen, until the war of al-Basūs had broken the power of resistance of the tribes of Rabī'a is evident, but it is extremely incredible, and may be an invention of the Bakritic tradition out of regard for the honour of the tribe, that al-Ḥārīt and the Himyarites should then have quietly awaited the day, when Bakr (or Rabī'a) understood its weakness and approached outsiders to find a remedy for its internal anarchy. As a matter of fact, the theme recurs later on (p. 70), when the sons of al-Ḥārīt are concerned, in the tradition of al-Haytam b. 'Adī (Ag. VIII: 65).

When al-Ḥārīt in the last decade of the fifth century had united the tribes in Naḡd into a great kingdom, it is quite natural that as soon as possible he engaged these bellicose tribes, so fond of competing with one another, in military expeditions against Roman and Persian territories. The Arabian tradition takes a lively interest in the fights against al-Ḥīra and the Persians, but almost nothing is related about the expeditions against the Romans and their Arabian confederates. It is only the tradition of Abū 'Ubayda in 'Iqd III: 77<sub>28</sub>, which states with evident exaggeration: He marched out with Bakr b. Wā'il and conquered all that was in the hands of the kings of al-Ḥīra, namely the Laḥmites, and of the kings of Syria, namely the Ḡassānites, and drove them away to their remotest provinces compare<sup>1</sup>. Ibn Qutayba Ma'ārif p. 310, who makes Tubba' al-asgar, after having put al-Ḥārīt over Ma'add, subjugate also Syria and its kings of Ḡassān, who then became subject to al-Ḥārīt, who lived in al-Muṣaqqar.

These statements allude to the invasions under the sons of al-Ḥārīt, Ḥuḡr and Ma'dikarib, verified by the Byzantine sources,

<sup>1</sup> This tradition is also reproduced in a confused form by Ibn Nubata. RASMUSSEN Add. p. 88.

(see above p. 51 f.) which involved the peace of the year 502, and to the attack against al-Ḥīra, mentioned in the chronicle of Joshua the Stylite, in the following year, probably a condition in the treaty of peace.

With regard also to the military expeditions against the Laḥmites there is nothing to be derived from the purely Kalbitic tradition, which has probably agreed with the Bakritic one in Muf. p. 427<sub>11</sub>. The latter tradition relates that during the reign of the king of Persia, Qubād, al-Ḥārīt at the head of the tribes of Rabī'a attacked an-Nu'mān al-Akbar, the father of al-Mundīr al-Akbar dū-l-Qarnayn, who is called dū-l-Qarnayn b.an-Nu'mān b.aš-Šaqīqa, and expelled him, so that he died in exile among the tribe of Iyād, leaving among them his son, al-Mundīr, who however, when he got no assistance from Qubād, had to submit to al-Ḥārīt and received his daughter Hind in marriage. Al-Ḥārīt became master of all the arabs in al-'Irāq. This tradition is met with in all the other passages (see p. 23) with the apparently important divergence that the Laḥmite, who was expelled by al-Ḥārīt, is said to be al-Mundīr al-Akbar b.Mā' as-Samā'. This however does not at all fit into the tradition, as the Laḥmite, to whom Hind, the daughter of al-Ḥārīt, was given in marriage, was this same al-Mundīr b.Mā' as-Samā', and it is evidently borrowed from another version, that of Abū 'Ubayda (see below, p. 62).

The South Arabian tradition of Ibn al-Kalbi, Tab. I: 881<sub>18</sub>, says that al-Ḥārīt attacked and killed an-Nu'mān b.Imrī' il-Qays b.aš-Šaqīqa, and took possession of his dominion. But his son al-Mundīr b.Mā' as-Samā' escaped him.

In the continuation of this South Arabian tradition, Tab. I: 888<sub>8</sub>, the prince, whom al-Ḥārīt killed, is called an-Nu'mān b.al-Mundīr b.Imrī' il-Qays, a son of aš-Šaqīqa.

All the other traditions regarding the adventures of al-Ḥārīt with the Laḥmites and the Persians occupy themselves with only one Laḥmite, al-Mundīr, certainly called sometimes Ibn Imrī' il-Qays, sometimes Ibn Mā' as-Samā', sometimes Ibn an-Nu'mān, but always alluding to the king of al-Ḥīra, who reigned during the years 505—554.

If we look for the king of al-Ḥīra, who in the Bakritic tradition is called Nu'mān, the father of al-Mundīr dū-l-Qarnayn and son of aš-Šaqīqa, Nu'mān b.al-Aswad is most easily thought

of. For it is, no doubt, this Nu'mān, who, according to the chronicle of Joshua the Stylite, ch. 57, takes part in the fights under Qubād against the Romans and dies from a wound received near Circesium in 503. It was, according to the same source, during his absence from al-Ḥīra that »the Arabs of the Romans who were called the *Ta'labites*», invaded and devastated his territory. The troops that were left behind retired to the desert, which may have given the attackers the idea that the king himself was fleeing. The genealogical doubts that may be raised against such a supposition can be overcome without great difficulties. That the South Arabian tradition, just mentioned, speaks about an-Nu'mān (b.al-Mundir) b.Imrī' il-Qays and his son al-Mundir is, no doubt, due to a confusion with a Lahmite, living 100 years earlier<sup>1</sup>. That further the al-Mundir, that is concerned here, is as a rule considered to be a son of a certain Imru' ul-Qays, called al-Bad' and otherwise unknown (not until later inserted by Ḥamza, p. 104<sub>16</sub>, in his series of the kings of al-Ḥīra<sup>2</sup>) is no objection. This opinion seems to be based on Ibn al-Kalbī's table of kings, included in aṭ-Ṭabarī I: 900, where it is related that after Abū Ya'fur b.'Alqama, who belonged to a branch of Lahm other than that of the preceding kings, al-Mundir b.Imrī' il-Qays al-Bad' became king. It is unnecessary to presuppose that by this anything else is meant than that the dominion returned to a member of the old dynasty, the descendants of the Imru' ul-Qays b.'Amr, known from the epitaph of an-Namāra, unless we prefer to suppose that all the other names of a nasab, once complete, have been lost. Had a previously unknown Imru' ul-Qays been meant, something would certainly have been mentioned with regard to his origin in this genealogy, which is very detailed in similar cases.

That the father of al-Mundir was called an-Nu'mān is further expressly said not only by ad-Dīnawarī, p. 70<sub>11</sub> and al-Ya'qūbī I: 239<sub>4</sub>, whom, however, like ROTHSTEIN, p. 75, we must leave out of account, as they clearly presuppose another, abridged genealogy, the South Arabian one (see above), but also, based on Ibn al-Kalbī, twice in Tab. I: 899, lines 1 and 16, and further

<sup>1</sup> See ROTHSTEIN, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> See ROTHSTEIN, p. 55.

in Tab. I: 958<sub>11</sub>, which passage is revealed by the context as drawn from a pehlevi source (see NÖLDEKE, Sasaniden p. 238, note 3), and, lastly and of greatest importance, in Gregorius Barhebreus<sup>1</sup>, when he speaks of Mundar bar Na'mān.

Finally the fact that the Bakritic tradition, Muf. p. 427, calls the mother of an-Nu'mān aš-Šaqīqa, while the schedule of Ibn al-Kalbī in Tab. I: 900<sub>6</sub> calls her Umm al-Malik, daughter of 'Amr b. Ḥuḡr al-Kindī, need not be due to a confusion, as in the South Arabian tradition, with the an-Nu'mān b. Imrī il-Qays, mentioned above. This an-Nu'mān is in the schedule of Ibn al-Kalbī<sup>2</sup> said to be a son of aš-Šaqīqa, daughter of Abū Rabi'a b. Duḥl b. Šaybān, which is also certified in Ag. II: 38, which cites a great many informants in addition to Ibn al-Kalbī. If instead of »Dū-l-Qarnayn b. an-Nu'mān b. aš-Šaqīqa« in Muf. p. 427 we read »Dū-l-Qarnayn b. an-Nu'mān, Ibn aš-Šaqīqa«, we get the no doubt correct name of the mother of al-Mundir, which is verified in Greek sources by this al-Mundir being called *Αλαμούδαρος ὁ Σακκῆς* (var. *Σακκίνης* und *Ζεζυκῆς*)<sup>3</sup> and still more evidently in a Syriac source, The Book of the Himyarites<sup>4</sup>, written by a contemporary of al-Mundir's, who calls him Mundar bar Zaḡīqa. (Whether the name of Mā' as-Samā', current in Arabian sources, is another name for the same person or has arisen from a misunderstanding of a surname of al-Mundir himself<sup>5</sup> we leave as an open question.)

There is consequently much that argues in favour of the Bakritic tradition in Muf. p. 427 being correct, when it calls the father of al-Mundir an-Nu'mān and of this an-Nu'mān being identical with an-Nu'mān b. al-Aswad in the schedule of Ibn al-Kalbī and with the prince of al-Ḥira, mentioned in the chronicle of Joshua the Stylite, ch. 57. There are very however great differences between what tradition relates about an-Nu'mān and al-Ḥarīt and the event described in the chronicle of the Stylite. According to tradition an-Nu'mān is expelled by Rabi'a and dies in exile. (The South Arabian tradition even makes al-Ḥarīt kill

<sup>1</sup> Chronicon Syriacum, Parisiis 1890, p. 81<sub>10</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Wrongly, according to NÖLDEKE, Sasaniden p. 79, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> See NÖLDEKE, Sasaniden p. 169, note 4.

<sup>4</sup> ed. A. Moberg, Skrifter utgivna av Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, VIII, Lund 1924, p. 5 a, 12. Cf. LXI, note 3.

<sup>5</sup> See ROTHSTEIN, p. 75 ff.

him). But according to the chronicle of Joshua the Stylite the invasion of the Arabs takes place during the absence of an-Nu'mān, when he is on a military expedition with the Persians against the Romans, and he dies from a wound received in these fights. While the Stylite only speaks about a single attack on al-Ḥīra with a caravan of camels as the only booty, the Bakritic tradition makes al-Ḥārīt remain in the country and make himself master over its Arabs, which is not directly denied by the Syriac source except as regards al-Ḥīra itself. The differences are consequently, though great, such that they may be due to a tendency of the tradition in Bakr to glorify the successes of the tribe. Together with the expression mentioned above (p. 59): »The Arabs of the Romans who were called the Ta'labites» (The Stylite, ch. 57) the agreement between the Bakritic tradition in Muf. p. 427 and the account of Joshua the Stylite may be considered to form a sufficient reason for assuming as certain that in the year 503 al-Ḥārīt at the head of Bakr made an attack against the dominion of the Laḥmites and at any rate threatened al-Ḥīra gravely.

The influence over the Arabs of al-ʿIrāq, which the Bakritic tradition makes al-Ḥārīt obtain, after an-Nu'mān had been expelled, and which in the South Arabian tradition is indicated as a taking over of the kingship of the Laḥmites, should not be considered as a complete domination of the country. This is affirmed by the fact that al-Ḥārīt is not mentioned in the annals of al-Ḥīra, »Kitāb ahl al-Ḥīra», from which Ibn al-Kalbī has gathered his information, among the kings of al-Ḥīra<sup>1</sup>. Instead an-Nu'mān was succeeded by Abū Ya'fur b. 'Alqama, who in 505 was succeeded by al-Mundir. Al-Ḥārīt was probably able to rule at will in the main part of the country of the Laḥmites during the disturbed years 503—506, when the war between Byzantium and Persia was raging at its worst, and this is probably the real foundation of the Arabian tradition, which speaks about how the kingship went from the Laḥmites to al-Ḥārīt.

While neither non-Arabian nor Arabian sources connect al-Ḥārīt and Abū Ya'fur b. 'Alqama, and non-Arabian sources on the whole have nothing further to tell about al-Ḥārīt but his death (see above, p. 53), the Arabian tradition has a good deal to say about the relation between al-Mundir and al-Ḥārīt.

<sup>1</sup> Hamza p. 108.



How the Bakritic tradition, Muf. p. 427, makes al-Mundir, in the absence of any assistance from Persia, throw himself into the arms of al-Ḥārīt and receive his daughter in marriage, we have already mentioned (p. 58). In certain agreement with this Abū 'Ubayda relates, Naq. p. 267<sub>2</sub>, that al-Ḥārīt forced al-Mundir b. Mā' as-Samā', the king of 'Idār al-'Irāq, to flee to Hit and Takrit. When the latter had in vain asked Anūšīrwān, the successor of Qubād, who had put him over al-Ḥīra<sup>1</sup> for assistance, he asked al-Ḥārīt for his daughter Hind and succeeded in obtaining both her and peace with al-Ḥārīt. That al-Mundir tries to enter into an alliance with al-Ḥārīt is a matter of course, if we consider, with NÖLDEKE, *Sasaniden* p. 170, and ROTHSTEIN, p. 75, that Abū Ya'fur is the successor of an-Nu'mān whom Qubād had selected. It may however also be explained, if we conclude, like GUTSCHMID, *Z.D.M.G.* 34, p. 745, and after him ROTHSTEIN, p. 146 (*Nachträge*), from a mention of an invasion into Roman territory in the year 503 under Alamundaros Sicices in *Acta Sanctorum*, 19th Febr. III: 132, that al-Mundir was the successor of an-Nu'mān chosen by Qubād. Qubād was during the war with the Romans simply unable to give him any support. It was in both cases Abū Ya'fur, the king of al-Ḥīra, and not al-Ḥārīt, who was his worst enemy, and what was therefore more natural than that he applied to the powerful prince of Kinda for assistance and help in obtaining power over al-Ḥīra? This also gives us a plausible explanation of the question how al-Mundir won the princess Hind of Kinda. Like ROTHSTEIN, p. 87, note 2, and NÖLDEKE, *Sasaniden* p. 172, one might assume that she had been made a prisoner of war, but it would, as LYALL states in *Nöldeke-Studien* p. 129, fit in better with the great honour, in which Hind was held in al-Ḥīra and by her son 'Amr, that she had been married to al-Mundir in a peaceful way<sup>2</sup>, than that she had been taken prisoner in a war and been brought to his tent as a slave. This honoured position of hers could be threatened neither by her being in distinction to the Lahmites a Christian, as the inscription, mentioned above, p. 46,

<sup>1</sup> Here there is evidently confusion with what happened about 25 years later on, see below, p. 64 f.

<sup>2</sup> The above, p. 50, cited vuse of al-Ḥārīt's mu'allaq points in the same direction.



in the convent of Dayr Hind, founded by her, shows, nor by her father and brothers becoming mortal enemies of al-Mundir.

That al-Hārīt, however, got a certain power in al-ʿIrāq after an-Nu'mān's death directly sanctioned by Qubād is the opinion of the South Arabian tradition, Tab. I: 888<sub>s</sub>, where it is related how, after it had first been agreed between Qubād and al-Hārīt that the Euphrates was to be the boundary of the latter's territory, he had, by making small detachments invade and plunder al-ʿIrāq and by then denying before Qubād that it had happened with his consent, made the king of Persia leave him some districts of al-ʿIrāq »that he might forge weapons there, to keep the Arabian tribes in cheque«, that is to say, he had become governor of a part of the country on condition that he answered for the safety from the desert.

This tradition is of the most romantic, typically South Arabian kind, and would hardly have deserved to be mentioned, had not the purely Kalbitic tradition, Muf. p. 429<sub>s</sub>, confirmed it in one respect, by relating that al-Hārīt made a treaty with Qubād, according to which Qubād was to have everything above as-Sarā (according to Yāqūt III: 378 a canal near the Tigris in the neighbourhood of Baḡdād) and al-Hārīt everything below as far as the country of the Arabs. Whether this treaty is to be referred to this time or to a later date is however impossible to decide from the rather short tradition. Ibn Ḥaldūn has, II: 274, the startling statement quoted from »someone other than Hišām b. Muḥammad« that al-Hārīt, after Anūšīrwān had restored al-Mundir to power in al-Ḥira (see below, p. 64 f.), agreed with him that he was to keep what was on the other side of »the river of as-Sawād«.

In addition to the traditions hitherto mentioned, which have in common the statement that al-Hārīt invades al-ʿIrāq during the reign of al-Mundir's predecessor, there is, as ROTHSTEIN, p. 89, points out, another group of traditions, which relate how the reign of al-Mundir is interrupted by al-Hārīt. Thus »all the informants« of Ag. VIII: 63<sub>a</sub> relate that Qubād exhorted his governor in al-Ḥira and the neighbouring territories, al-Mundir b. Mā' as-Samā, to embrace like himself the doctrines of Mazdaq<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> With regard to this, see A. CHRISTENSEN, *Le regne du roi Kawādh I*

When al-Mundir refused, Qubād approached al-Ḥārīt b. 'Amr, who declared himself ready to do so, and was rewarded with the power of al-Mundir, whereas the latter was expelled. In accordance with this are the statements not only of Ibn al-Aṭir I: 375<sub>9</sub> and Abū-l-Fidā, p. 130, which are based on this passage in Kitāb al-Aḡānī (see above p. 25), but also of Ibn Ḥaldūn II: 273, based on »someone other than Hišām b. Muḥammad«, and, further it is, no doubt, the same event that is referred to in Ibn al-Aṭir, I: 296<sub>8</sub> and I: 374<sub>13</sub>, as well as in Ibn Qutayba, Šī'r p. 43<sub>3</sub>, though nothing is mentioned there about Mazdaqism. In Ibn Ḥaldūn II: 276<sub>3</sub>, based on Ibn Sa'īd, it is, curiously enough, to be read that al-Ḥārīt al-Maḡṣūr (!) was the one that refused to become a zandic, like Qubād, the king of Persia.

Another, and no doubt more correct, opinion of the importance of Mazdaqism in the successes of al-Ḥārīt in al-'Irāq is represented by Hamza, who says on page 140: »When Qubād b. Firūz, who embraced Zandicism, let him have free hands, his power was strengthened and his dominion became great«, and states on page 106 that one of the two reasons for the dominion having gone from Laḥm to Kinda' was the powerless reign of Qubād, who let the Mazdaqites obtain dominion, which in its turn weakened al-Mundir's power. (The other was that Bakr had made al-Ḥārīt its king in order to be able to take vengeance on the Laḥmites.) Al-Mundir had then nothing else to do but to flee from al-Ḥira, and he went to al-Ġarsā' (RASMUSSEN, Hist. p. 35<sub>2</sub>: al-Ḥarsā') al-Kalbī and remained there.

As a rule it is said in these traditions in plain words (or is understood, from the fact that he took possession of the power of the Laḥmites) that al-Ḥārīt settled down in al-Ḥira, but also here Hamza, p. 108<sub>4</sub>, has a divergence deserving attention. Al-Ḥārīt, he says, did not live in al-Ḥira, but was continually moving about in the country of the Arabs. Aḡ. VIII: 64<sub>14</sub> (and Ibn al-Aṭir I: 375<sub>17</sub>), which relates that on a special occasion he lived in al-Anbār, is not incompatible with this. Al-Ya'qūbī, I: 247, and al-Hayṭam b. 'Adī in Aḡ. VIII: 65<sub>4</sub> summarily state, without mentioning al-Ḥārīt's adventures with the Laḥmites, that al-Ḥārīt settled down in al-Ḥira.

All the traditions agree that when Anūširwān obtained power, et le communisme Mazdaqite, Historisk-Filologiske Meddelelser udg. av Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 9: 6, København 1925.

he restored al-Mundir as king of al-Ḥīra, whether or no in connection with the raid he made against the Mazdaqites, which, according to NÖLDEKE<sup>1</sup> and A. CHRISTENSEN<sup>2</sup>, is to be dated to the last years of the life of Qubād, when Anūšīrwān, as successor to the throne, had already assumed the government, that is to say (according to John Malalas<sup>3</sup>) to the year 527 or 528, a date which is also most suitable for al-Mundir recovering his power. The case is that, according to John Malalas l. c. and Theophanes A.C. 521, al-Mundir invades Syria in March 528, and follows up his revenge on al-Ḥārīt later on during the same year. It is however evident that al-Ḥārīt cannot have been in power for a long time, as in the year 524 al-Mundir received in al-Ḥīra embassies from Byzantium and Dū-Nuwās of al-Yaman<sup>4</sup>. Consequently we can only speak of a short Kindite interregnum in al-Ḥīra some time during the years 525—528, during the confusion caused by the Mazdaqites in the Persian kingdom. It is on the other hand very probable that al-Ḥārīt had before that held great or small parts of al-ʿIrāq in fee from Persia, for after his connection with Byzantium had weakened or been entirely cut off through the peace of the year 506, he had probably made advances to Persia, as amicable relations with the latter kingdom were highly desirable for the ruler over Bakr and Taglib, which tribes were about this time moving northwards from their old districts in al-Yamāma and Naḡd in order to settle down in al-ʿIrāq<sup>5</sup>. It is quite natural then that he often came into conflict with al-Mundir, who, after having taken possession of al-Ḥīra, had a free hand against him, and their rivalry for the favour of Qubād and for the power over the Arabs increased their enmity. Al-Mundir was, however, evidently »king of the Arabs of the Persians» par préférence, until, probably more on account of negotiations which were friendly towards the Romans, than because of any religious constancy, he fell into disgrace with Qubād

<sup>1</sup> Sasaniden, p. 462 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Le regne du Roi Kawādh I et le Communisme Mazdaqite, p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> Chronographia, lib. XVIII (col. 853).

<sup>4</sup> See ROTHSTEIN, p. 80.

<sup>5</sup> See O. BLAU, Arabien im sechsten Jahrhundert, Z.D.M.G. 23, Leipzig 1869, p. 579 ff.

and saw himself replaced by al-Ḥārīt. Menander<sup>1</sup>, p. 216, gives evidence of such double-dealing on the part of al-Mundir, when he relates that al-Mundir received temporary subsidies from the emperor, when he did not side with Persia but agreed with the Romans to keep quiet in case of war.

That al-Ḥārīt was for some period also considered king of al-ʿIrāq, at least by his tribesmen, is evident from the poem of his grandson Imru' ul-Qays (Diw. 67), where it is said (verse 1):

أَبْعَدَ الْحَرْثِ الْمَلِكِ بْنِ عَمْرِو      لَهُ مُلْكُ الْعِرَاقِ إِلَى عُمَانَ

»Will after al-Ḥārīt al-malik b. ʿAmr, who ruled over al-ʿIrāq as far as ʿUmān», etc.

With Anūšīrwān assuming the government the tables were however turned, and al-Ḥārīt had to flee. Thanks to the relation he now bore to the Persians, he could approach the Romans again. That he must have succeeded in this is evident from the fact that he is described by John Malalas<sup>2</sup> and Theophanes<sup>3</sup>, when they mention his death, as φύλαρχος (Theophanes: τῶν ὑπὸ Ρωμαίων Σαρακηνῶν) as early as in the year 528. It is not clear what relations he had with the chief of Gassān, al-Ḥārīt b. Ġabala, who, probably in the next year, was appointed by the emperor Justinianus king of all the Arabian tribes under Roman rule, but it is, no doubt, certain that there was no hostility between them. Among those, who went out to revenge the death of the prince of Kinda, was also al-Ḥārīt of Gassān (see above, p. 53). Probably they both of them were φύλαρχοι of the Romans, each over a tribe or group of tribes. Before the year 529 there was probably<sup>4</sup> no common ἀρχιφύλαρχος over the Arabs of the Romans.

The Arabian tradition has, however, not a single word about the relations of al-Ḥārīt to the Romans. Ag. VIII: 64<sub>14</sub>, based on »all informants», relates, for instance, that he fled before Anūšīrwān after the fall of the Mazdaqites and, closely pursued by al-Mundir with horsemen from the tribes of Taglib (which,

<sup>1</sup> Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum, coll. C. MULLERUS, vol. 4, Paris 1851.

<sup>2</sup> Chronographia, lib. XVIII (col. 641).

<sup>3</sup> Chronographia A.C. 521 (col. 413).

<sup>4</sup> See NÖLDEKE, Ghassaniden p. 12.

as CAUSSIN DE PERCEVAL<sup>1</sup>, points out, is no doubt a mistake for Tanūh), Bahrā' and Iyād, took refuge with the Banū Kalb. Into the hands of al-Mundir the camels of al-Ḥarīṭ are said to have fallen; also his other property and 48 members of the dynasty of Ākil al-murār, whom he had put to death at Ḥufar (DE SLANE has Gafr) al-Amlāk in the country of Banū Marīnā between al-Ḥira and Kūfa. It would be the execution of these princes that Imru' ul-Qays celebrates in song in Diw. 62.

١ أَلَا يَا عَيْنَ بَكِّي لِي شَيْنَا      وَبَكِّي لِي الْمُلُوكَ الذَّاهِبِينَ  
 ٢ مُلُوكًا مِنْ بَنِي حُجْرٍ بْنِ عَمْرِو      يُسَاقُونَ الْعَشِيَّةَ يَفْتَلُونَا  
 ٣ فَلَوْ فِي يَوْمٍ مَعْرَكَةٍ أُصِيبُوا      وَلَكِنْ فِي دِيَارِ بَنِي مَرِينَا  
 ٤ فَلَمْ تُغْسَلْ جَمَاجِمُهُمْ بِغَسَلٍ      وَلَكِنْ بِالْدمَاءِ مُرْمَلِينَ  
 ٥ تَظَلُّ الطَّيْرُ عَاكِفَةً عَلَيْهِمْ      وَتَنْتَرِعُ الْحَوَاجِبَ وَالْعُيُونَا

Alas, my eye, weep me a flood of tears, and mourn the lost kings!

Kings of the sons of Ḥuḡr b. 'Amr that one evening were brought out and killed.

Oh, if they had only met their fate on the day of battle and not in the camp of Banū Marīnā!

Their skulls were not cleaned but lay soiled with blood,

While the vultures were constantly hovering over them and depriving them of eyebrows and eyes.

And also 'Amr b. Kulthūm is said to have alluded to this event in his mu'allaqa, v. 72<sup>2</sup> (66)<sup>3</sup>, (see TH. NÖLDEKE, Fünf Mo'allaqāt I, <sup>4</sup> p. 45.)

<sup>1</sup> Essai sur l'histoire, II: 85, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> ed. ARNOLD.

<sup>3</sup> ed. LYALL.

<sup>4</sup> Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Classe, 140: 7. Wien 1902.



It is certain that al-Mundir dealt mercilessly with the whole family of al-Ḥārīt, but we must certainly place this massacre in a later time, and presume that al-Ḥārīt escaped rather unscathed from al-Ḥīra, when the Mazdaqites were overthrown. The account of the loss of his property and of the captivation of his family is to be found in John Malalas and Theophanes (see above, p. 53), where it is combined with his final defeat and death caused by al-Mundir.

Ibn Qutayba is in *Ag.* VIII: 65<sub>2</sub> said to have related that when al-Mundir approached al-Ḥīra, al-Ḥārīt fled and was pursued by horsemen, who killed his son 'Amr. And they killed his son Mālik (*DE SLANE*<sup>1</sup> has Malik) in *Hit.* Ibn al-Aṭīr I: 375<sub>ppm</sub> mentions the two sons of al-Ḥārīt among the 48 victims in Dayr Banī Marīnā (see above, p. 66). But al-Ḥārīt escaped to Maṣḥalān, where the Banū Kalb killed him. Hamza has, p. 141, the same account, but only speaks about one son of al-Ḥārīt without mentioning his name.

Disagreement prevails in the traditions with regard to the death of al-Ḥārīt. The Kalbitic tradition in *Muf.* p. 429, and Ibn al-Aṭīr I: 406<sub>8</sub> says that, during his stay in Maṣḥalān, he went out hunting but was baffled by a gazelle-buck for so long that he swore to eat nothing, till he got the liver of the buck. When, after three days' hunting, his people at last brought it to him, he was half dead with hunger and snatched, while the meat was being roasted over a fire, a piece of the liver, ate it burning hot and died. In *Ag.* VIII: 64 and Ibn al-Aṭīr I: 376 this tradition is quoted from »the learned men of Kinda», after it has first been stated that the tribe of Kalb said that they had killed him. Ibn Ḥaldūn says, II: 276, based on Ibn Sa'īd, that he was killed among the tribe of Banū Kalb. In *Ag.* VIII: 65<sub>4</sub> it is said, in opposition to the preceding tradition from Ibn al-Aṭīr, that al-Ḥārīt remained with the Banū Kalb, until he died a natural death, which has been adopted by Abū-l-Fidā' p. 130 f. Abū 'Ubayda in *Tqd* III: 77 differs from all the others by relating that al-Ḥārīt died and was buried in Baṭn 'Āqil, which probably is a confusion with the death of his grandfather Ḥuḡr (see above, p. 39 and 55).

There is surprisingly little that tradition has to tell about the

<sup>1</sup> Amro'lkaīs, p. c.



rule of al-Ḥārīt among the tribes of Ma'add. In the main, we only get to know that he divided the dominion between his sons (see below, p. 70), in addition to which a little episode from his no doubt iron-hard rule is related in a Kalbitic tradition in Muf. p. 431<sub>20</sub>, Naq. p. 456<sub>4</sub>, Ibn al-Aṭīr I: 407<sub>11</sub>, and Yāqūt III: 430, the value of which, however, is considerably lessened by the fact that the same theme is met with in connection with a Ḡassānite, al-Ḥārīt b. Māriya, in Ṭab. I: 845. (Yāqūt III: 430 speaks of al-Ḥārīt b. 'Amr al-Ḡassānī!).

With regard to the family relations of al-Ḥārīt, we have already seen (see above, p. 48) that two different opinions have asserted themselves as to the name and extraction of his mother, of which we decidedly prefer the North Arabian tradition, which makes her a daughter of 'Awf of the branch of Ṭa'labā of Bakr, bearing the name of Umm Iyās. About the wife or wives of al-Ḥārīt, however, the statements do not differ very much from each other. The Kalbitic tradition mentions in Muf. p. 429<sub>15</sub> three wives of al-Ḥārīt: Umm Qaṭām, a daughter of Salama b. Mālik b. al-Ḥārīt b. Mu'āwiya and the mother of Ḥuḡr, her sister Asmā', the mother of Šuraḥbīl and Ma'dikarīb, and their servant Ruqayya, the mother of Salama. Quoted from Ibn al-Kalbī this is repeated in Muf. p. 432 with the addition that all the three wives were by some people considered as sisters. In accordance with this it is said in Ag. VIII: 63, based on Ya'qūb b. as-Sikkīt, that Umm Qaṭām, the daughter of Salama of the tribe of 'Anaza, was the mother of Ḥuḡr, as is also witnessed by, among others, al-Ḥārīt b. Hilliza in his mu'allāqa v. 56<sup>1</sup> (v. 76)<sup>2</sup>. Another name we are given only in Ibn al-Aṭīr I: 371, where al-Ḥārīt marries a daughter of 'Awf b. Muḥallim b. Duḥl b. Šaybān, who was called Umm Unās and bore him 'Amr, a son, who is also mentioned in a doubtful South Arabian tradition in Ag. VIII: 65. The mother of al-Ḥārīt is, however, also mentioned as being a daughter of this chief of Ṭa'labā of Bakr, and probably we have here to do with a confusion with the Ṭa'labitic mother of al-Ḥārīt (see above p. 48 f.).

<sup>1</sup> ed. ARNOLD.

<sup>2</sup> ed. LYALL.

## CHAPTER VII.

### The sons of al-Ḥārīt.

It is the unanimous and decided opinion of the Arabian tradition that al-Ḥārīt placed his sons as chiefs over the tribes of Ma'add, which were subject to him. That this was really the case, and rather early too during the reign of al-Ḥārīt, is to a certain degree supported by the evidence of Greek sources with regard to the plundering expeditions of his sons about the year 500 (see above, p. 51), even though they, of course, may be considered there as their father's sub-commanders in general without being confined to any special tribe. No definite statement regarding the date of this division of the tribes between the sons of al-Ḥārīt is ever supplied, but it is quite evident that opinions differed as to whether it happened immediately before the death of al-Ḥārīt or a short or long time earlier. The reason of the division is by al-Haytam b. 'Adī in Ag. VIII: 65, said to be the discord that had arisen between the tribes of Nizār and made their chiefs apply to their master, al-Ḥārīt, who is said to have lived in al-Ḥīra, asking him to put his sons as rulers over them. Yāqūt IV: 294, has an account in agreement with this but states further as the reason for the confusion among the tribes of Nizār that al-Ḥārīt had been negligent in his care for his subjects among the Bedouins.

In addition to the sons previously mentioned (see p. 69) Ḥuḡr (= Ἀγρος), Ma'dikarib (= Βαδικάριμος), Šuraḥbīl (Šarāḥīl) and Salama (Maslama), 'Abd-allāh and Muḥarriq are also in rare cases mentioned as tribal chiefs, whereas the names of Mālik (Malik) and 'Amr (cf. p. 68 f.) are never included. From this latter fact one cannot however conclude that the division of the tribes did not take place until after the death of these princes during the last year of al-Ḥārīt. Their existence is on the whole too pro-

blematic for that. Further the last period of al-Ḥārīt's reign, when he lived himself as a fugitive before al-Mundir, is not very suitable for such an enterprise, which presupposes power and influence such as he enjoyed, when he had just become master of all these tribes or when he had subjugated great parts of al-ʿIrāq. The Arabian tradition often concludes its account of the division of the kingdom with the words: »And thus it remained, till their father had died», and even when the power of his sons is mentioned only after the death of al-Ḥārīt, the opinion, elsewhere often clearly expressed, that they were kings over parts of the dominion of Kinda even during the life of al-Ḥārīt, is never contradicted. The fact that none of his sons obtains the power over Kinda, which consequently remained under the immediate guidance of al-Ḥārīt until his death, may possibly also be considered to support this opinion. Here however it must be observed that all that al-Ḥārīt brought with him of Kindites among the tribes of Maʿadd may simply have been his own family, which of course must not be mixed up in a similar division.

The distribution of the tribes is, according to the Kalbitic tradition, Muf. p. 429<sub>12</sub>, the following: Ḥuḡr was put over B.Asad and Kināna, Šurahbil over Bakr b.Wāʿil, Ḥanzala b.Mālik b.Zayd Manāt b.Tamīm, B.Usayyid b.ʿAmr b.Tamīm (completed from Ibn al-Aʿīr I: 406<sub>12</sub>: and ar-Ribāb, Salama over B.Taglib, an-Namir b.Qāsiṭ, and B.Saʿd b.Zayd Manāt b.Tamīm), and Maʿdikarib over Qays ʿAylān. (Is also to be found in abridgment in Abū-l-Fida', p. 132.)

The Bakritic tradition, Muf. p. 428<sub>1</sub>, Naq. p. 452<sub>7</sub> and p. 1073<sub>7</sub>, Ag. XI: 64<sub>8</sub>, and Ibn Ḥaldūn II: 274<sub>8</sub>, mentions only the three latter princes and their tribes. An exception is possibly met with in Ag., which after »Ḥanzala» has a »b.al-Ḥārīt to B.Asad», which may be accounted for as a fragmentary mention of a fourth brother, (in that case of course Ḥuḡr, as he is always mentioned as chief of B.Asad), made in a wrong place in the midst of the tribes of Šurahbil. That it has come in just there may be due to a confusion between »B.Asad» and a »B.Usayyid», which is to be found in Naq. I and II in the corresponding place before the continuation, which agrees with Ag. The text of Muf. p. 428 has a great gap and allots only ar-Ribāb to Šurahbil, but according to Naq. I and II, which complete each

other, the Bakritic tradition gives the following distribution, which in the main agrees with that of the Kalbitic: Šuraḥbīl got Bakr b.Wā'il, Ḥanzala b.Mālik (I: »and Banū», read »b.», Zayd b.Tamīm), B.Usayyid and other parts of B.'Amr b.Tamīm, and ar-Ribāb (II: Ma'dikarib got Qays); and Salama got B.Taglib, an-Namir b.Qāsīt, and Sa'd b.Zayd Manāt b.Tamīm, and further some of B.Dārim b.Mālik b.Ḥanzala, who through their origin on their mother's side were related to the Taglibites, went with them. Ibn Ḥaldūn has in his version followed Ag. without including »b.al-Ḥarīt» but keeping »B.Asad». Also of Bakritic origin is evidently the tradition in 'Abd al-Qādir, Hiz. II: 501, which renders the dominions of Šuraḥbīl and Salama in accordance with the above but, instead of Ma'dikarib, mentions Ḥuḡr, who gets Asad and Kināna to rule over.

Well agreeing with the statements of these two versions transmitted by Ibn al-Kalbī, al-'Askarī says, according to 'Abd-al-Qādir, Hiz. II: 500<sub>27</sub>, in Kitāb at-taṣḥīf that Salama ruled over B.Taglib and part of B.Tamīm, while Bakr b.Wā'il and another part of B.Tamīm were subject to Šuraḥbīl. Hamza, p. 141, contents himself with mentioning that al-Ḥarīt put his sons over Bakr, Tamīm, Qays, Taglib and Asad.

Entirely incompatible with these two groups is Yāqūt II: 433<sub>12</sub>, based on Ibn al-Kalbī, where it is said that Salama became king of B.Taglib and Bakr b.Wā'il, which Ibn Ḥaldūn II: 274 cites from »someone other than Hišām b.Muḥammad», who also states that Ḥuḡr got B.Asad, Šuraḥbīl got B.Sa'd and ar-Ribāb, and Ma'dikarib got Qays and Kināna, against which Ibn Ḥaldūn, however, immediately places the opinion of »others» that Salama got Ḥanzala and Taglib, Šuraḥbīl got Sa'd, ar-Ribāb and Bakr.

Abū 'Ubayda, who in the versions of the Naqā'id has cited the Bakritic tradition, is in 'Iqd III: 77 the source of a tradition regarding the battle of al-Kulāb, which supplies some new names of tribes subject to Šuraḥbīl and Salama. Šuraḥbīl had Ḍabba, all ar-Ribāb, B.Yarbū', and Bakr b.Wā'il under his command, »Maslama» Taglib, an-Namir, Bahra' and part of B.Mālik b.Ḥanzala.

Al-Haytam b.'Adī has quite another distribution of the tribes in Ag. VIII: 65<sub>4</sub> and, in abridgment, in Yāqūt IV: 294<sub>3</sub>. Ḥuḡr gets B.Asad and Gaṭafān, Šuraḥbīl all Bakr b.Wā'il, B.Ḥanzala

b.Malik b.Zayd Manāt (and groups of B.Dārim<sup>1</sup>) b.Tamīm and ar-Ribāb, Ma'dikarib gets B.Taglib, an-Namir b.Qāsiṭ, Sa'd b.Zayd Manāt, and groups of B.Dārim b.Ḥanzala, 'Abd-allāh gets 'Abd al-Qays and lastly Salama the tribe of Qays.

Also al-Ya'qūbī I: 247 furnishes a new list; Ḥuḡr gets Asad and Kināna, Šarahbil gets Ġann, Ṭayyī', and ar-Ribāb (but on the following page it is said that those who followed him in the battle of al-Kulāb were Tamīm and Ḍabba), Salama gets Taglib and an-Namir b.Qāsiṭ, and Ma'dikarib gets Qays b.'Aylān.

In ad-Dīnawarī p. 54 we find another distribution, which is also met with in an-Nuwayrī<sup>2</sup> there based on Ibn Ḥamdūn. Ḥuḡr is as usual given Asad and Kināna but Šarahbil is — curiously enough — put over Qays and Tamīm, and Ma'dikarib over Rabī'a. The trustworthiness of this statement is certainly not greater than that of the confused account, which follows immediately afterwards and dates the distribution of the tribes to the time before the war of al-Basūs.

Further a curious grouping with partly strange names for the princes of Kinda is given in Yāqūt II: 433<sub>6</sub>, quoted from Abū Ziyād b.al-Kilābī, where Ḥuḡr gets B.Asad and Kināna, it is true, and Ma'dikarib »the remaining part of Qays«, but then Šarahīl is given B.'Āmir and Wā'il and an otherwise unknown Muḥarriq gets B.Tamīm and Ḍabba.

Exempt from the division into tribes are the Sanā'i', a kind of mercenary troop, who, though they are said to have been unsettled people, who were expelled or had withdrawn from the Arabian tribes, are however called B.Ruqayya after a common ancestress! They are attributed to Ma'dikarib by al-Hayṭam b.'Adī in Ag. VIII: 65 as well as by the Bakritic tradition in Muf. p. 428 and Naq. p. 452, whereas Naq. p. 1073 says that they were in the service of Salama.

It would be too daring to suppose a priori that any one of these versions is correct throughout. The details especially are of course untrustworthy. But what is common to the majority of the older traditions may be considered as being in the main

<sup>1</sup> Is missing not only in Yāqūt but also in the text of Ag. ed. by DE SLANE.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Ject., p. 74.



correct. The probable distribution of the tribes is therefore the following:

Ḥuḡr ruled over Asad and Kināna, two brother tribes of the Muḍar group, the former living in a territory south of the mountains of Šammar<sup>1</sup> on both sides of the Wādī-r-Rumma and the latter in Tihāma, and probably also over Ġaṭafān, a branch of Qays, which had settled down between them, east of Ḥaybar.

Ma'dikarib had command over the great tribe of Qays-ʿAylān, that was also numbered with the Muḍar tribes and often considered to contain also Ġaṭafān, and which had originally lived in Tihāma but had gradually spread over all North and Central Arabia.

Šurahbil became master of the Rabīʿa tribe of Bakr b. Wā'il and of parts of the Muḍar tribe of Tamīm and of the so called ar-Ribāb, a coalition of the tribes of ʿAbdmanāt and Ḍabba which were allied with Tamīm. All these except ar-Ribāb, which lived in the south of Central Arabia, south of Ḍariya, had their pastures in Eastern Arabia between the mountains of Šammar, the Euphrates, and al-Baḥrayn.

To Salama's lot fell the Rabīʿa tribes of Taglib b. Wā'il and an-Namir, which tribes lived most to the north and north-east, close to Persian territory, and of the Muḍar tribes the tribes of Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt and Dārim b. Mālik of Ḥanzala, which were numbered with Tamīm, the former a very great tribe, at that time spread over all North Eastern Arabia, where it was also to be found later on.

Lastly ʿAbd-allāh got ʿAbd al-Qays, a mighty Rabīʿa tribe in al-Baḥrayn.

Regarding this grouping of the Maʿaddite tribes one thing is worth noticing, as it offers a possibility of finding support for its correctness in the Byzantine sources. Ḥuḡr and Ma'dikarib get allotted to them the tribes living most to the east and nearest the borders of the Roman dominion. It is also Ἄγροϛ and Βεδιζάρμοϛ, who make the plundering expeditions against Syria and Palestine (see above, p. 51). This cannot be mere chance, but may be considered as evidence not only for the correctness on the whole of the distribution of the tribes according to the

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the geographical statements in the following cf. O. BLAU *Arabien im sechsten Jahrhundert*, Z.D.M.G. 23, 579 ff.



Arabian tradition, but also for a dating of this division of al-Ḥārīt's power to the first years of his reign over all the widely spread North Arabian tribes.

By this enumeration of the tribes that were attributed to the different sons, a statement has also been furnished with regard to the size of al-Ḥārīt's dominion, a statement that is of the very greatest interest, and to which there may also be attached comparatively great trustworthiness, as, at least in the beginning, it is unintentional and does not aim at completeness. From that it is evident that not only all Naǧd but also great parts of al-Ḥiǧāz, al-Baḥrayn, and al-Yamāma were subject to al-Ḥārīt's sceptre.

Of these sons of al-Ḥārīt, 'Abd-allāh, who is met with only in the version of al-Hayṭam b. 'Adī, in *Ag. VIII: 65*, is not once mentioned again in the Arabian sources, nor in any passage in the Greek ones. If we add to this that his very name excites suspicion, as it does not fit in well with the names of the other brothers, which were usual in just the tribe of Kinda and, at least as regards Šuraḥbīl and Ma'dikarib, of distinctly South Arabian origin, one is very much inclined to consider him as a mere invention, by which tradition wanted to indicate that 'Abd al-Qays too, which was not included among the tribes of the other brothers, belonged to the kingdom of Kinda. That this was really the case is extremely probable, partly because of the vicinity of 'Abd al-Qays to Bakr and its old relations with the latter tribe<sup>1</sup>, partly because of the fact that Kindites are to be found during this time and later in al-Muṣāqqar and other castles and towns in the territory of 'Abd al-Qays, south al-Baḥrayn<sup>2</sup>.

Of the other brothers we find Ḥuǧr and Ma'dikarib, as previously mentioned, in the Byzantine sources at the very beginning of the reign of al-Ḥārīt as leaders of military expeditions against the Roman territories in Syria. As previously mentioned (*p. 57*) the Arabian sources are perfectly silent about this and have nothing to relate of either these two sons or the two others until after the death of al-Ḥārīt.

An expedition of war made by Ḥuǧr against the Lahmites

<sup>1</sup> See *Enzyklopädie des Islam*, art. Bakr.

<sup>2</sup> See e. g. al-Hamdānī *p. 151*.

and their confederates, which is said by az-Zawzanī<sup>1</sup> as well as by at-Tibrizī<sup>2</sup> in their commentaries to have been directed against Imru' ul-Qays, the apocryphal father of al-Mundir b. Ma' as-Samā, and consequently to have taken place before the time of al-Mundir, is mentioned in the mu'allaqa of al-Hārīt v. 56<sup>3</sup> (76<sup>4</sup>).

ثُمَّ حَجْرًا أَعْنَى ابْنِ أُمِّ قَطَامٍ      وَلَهُ فَارَسِيَّةٌ خَضْرَاءُ

Then I will speak of Ḥuḡr, that is the son of Umm Qaṭām, who wore a dark Persian (coat of mail).

Then it is better to date, with NÖLDEKE<sup>5</sup>, this expedition of war, which is otherwise unknown, to after al-Hārīt's death, when Ḥuḡr tried to recover his father's power.

On the other hand, the Byzantine sources do not relate anything about the further fortunes of Ḥuḡr and Ma'dikarib and do not even mention the names of Šuraḥbīl and Salama. According to Theophanes, A.C. 494, Ḥuḡr was already dead at the time of Ma'dikarib's plundering expedition in Syria in the year 501. This statement which is entirely incompatible with the Arabian tradition in all the versions, is certainly to be considered a hasty conclusion based on the fact that Ḥuḡr, after having been released from his captivity, was absent from further plundering expeditions against the territory under Roman dominion. He was probably occupied elsewhere; in Naḡd or al-Yamāma, at the time of Ma'dikarib's expedition. He lived, no doubt, as LYALL also points out in his introduction, p. 1, to the Diwān of 'Abīd ibn al-Abras, among B. Asad for a long course of years, as is evident from the poems of the young Imru' ul-Qays (cf. I. Q. Ši'r p. 37<sub>5</sub>). In this special case we had no doubt better keep to the Arabian tradition and date his death later than that of his father.

Ḥuḡr, who, according to the Kalbitic tradition in Muf. p. 429<sub>12</sub>, was the eldest of the brothers, had probably after his father's death a certain supremacy over the whole kingdom of Kinda.

<sup>1</sup> Septem Mo'allaqāt, ed. ARNOLD.

<sup>2</sup> A commentary on ten ancient Arabic poems, ed. LYALL.

<sup>3</sup> ed. ARNOLD.

<sup>4</sup> ed. LYALL.

<sup>5</sup> Fünf Mo'allaqāt, p. 45.

In favour of such a supposition a statement in the Kalbitic tradition, *Ag.* VIII: 65<sub>14</sub>, argues, namely that he had under his command troops not only of Kināna but also of Rabi'a and Qays, which latter tribe is mentioned as belonging to a brother of his, when he marched away to punish the Banū Asad. Tradition tells us nothing about his earlier reign during his father's life. That he ruled with a strong hand is however evident from the marked ill-feeling against him among Asad, which caused violent fights and at last his death.

There are several different versions regarding the rebellion of Asad, the principal of which Abū-l-Farağ mentions in *Ag.* VIII: 65<sub>14</sub>—68, in connection with the four traditions regarding the death of Ḥuḡr, which are brought together there, based on al-Kalbī, aṣṢaybānī, al-Haytam b. 'Adī and Ibn as-Sikkīt respectively<sup>1</sup>. According to the Kalbitic tradition, Ḥuḡr, who was then staying in Tihāma, had sent his revenue collectors to fetch the annual tribute from Asad, who however refused to pay it and ill-treated and drove away the ambassadors. Then Ḥuḡr went out against them with an army of Rabi'a, part of his brother's army of Qays, and Kināna, and captured their chiefs, and had a great many of the people killed with sticks, for which reason Asad got the surname of 'Abid al-'Asā «Slaves of the stick», plundered their property, and ordered them to move to Tihāma, vowing that they would not be allowed to live in the same country as he. The Banū Asad departed, but among the captive chiefs was the poet 'Abid b. al-Abras and he stepped into the presence of Ḥuḡr and recited a poem (*Diw.* 29), where he asked for mercy for his tribe. Ḥuḡr was moved to pity and sent word to the Banū Asad, who had already gone three days' journey on their way to Tihāma, that they should return. When they had only one day's journey left on their way back, their kāhin 'Awf b. Rabi'a excited them again by prophesying the approaching death of Ḥuḡr, so that they mounted their riding-animals quickly and as early as at the break of day unexpectedly fell upon the camp of Ḥuḡr and directed their attack against his own tent, which was guarded by B. al-Ḥariṭ b. Sa'd, also called B. Ḥaddān b. Ḥantar, a family of B. Asad, which was indebted to Ḥuḡr for his having spared their father's life. When

<sup>1</sup> See also LYALL's introduction, p. 2—4, to *The Divān of 'Abid b. al-Abras*.

these saw the enemy direct their attack just against Ḥuġr, they entered the tent in order to defend the king there. But then a young man 'Ilbā' b.al-Ḥarīṭ of Kāhil, whose father Ḥuġr had recently killed, pushed forward and killed Ḥuġr in the midst of his friends with a thrust of his lance. After that the Banū Asad called out to the Banū Kināna and Qays that they should stand together with their brothers instead of supporting the foreign oppressor and his family. And then they shared among them his well-bred camels and wrapped up the corpse of Ḥuġr in a white cloth and threw it out on the open road. At the sight of this Kināna and Qays took their shares of the booty, while 'Amr b.Mas'ūd took the family of Ḥuġr under his protection. Ibn al-Kalbī adds that the different branches of the Banū Asad were at variance as to who had really killed Ḥuġr, though they agreed that 'Ilbā' had planned the deed and had therefore also got the honour of it.

According to Abū 'Amr aš-Šaybānī, Ag. VIII: 66<sub>20</sub>, Ḥuġr, who suspected Asad, had sent his daughter Hind and his menials and servants to a man of Tamīm, called 'Uwayr b.Šigna, and put them under his protection. Then, when he was attacked by the superior force of Asad, he agreed with them that he should let them alone on condition that he was allowed to depart in freedom. He proceeded to Ḥalīd b.Ḥaddān of Sa'd b.Ta'laba, where 'Ilbā' b.al-Ḥarīṭ of the Banū Kāhil, who had pursued him contrary to the treaty, overtook him and said to his host: »Kill your guest! It will be of use to both of us«. When Ḥalīd refused, 'Ilbā' walked towards Ḥuġr with a lance-head hidden under his clothes and thrust it into his side in an unguarded moment. Aš-Šaybānī bases his statements on a verse of an Asadite, which is supposed to allude to this. It does not leave anything to be desired with regard to its plainness:

وَقَصْدَةُ عِلْبَاءَ بْنِ قَيْسٍ بْنِ كَاهِلٍ      مَنِيَّةُ حُجْرٍ فِي جَوَارِ ابْنِ خَدَّانٍ

The broken lance in the hand of 'Ilbā' b.Qays b.Kāhil killed Ḥuġr, while he was under the protection of Ibn al-Ḥaddān.

It is however perhaps even too explicit to be authentic and must not be considered at all as binding evidence of the trustworthiness of aš-Šaybānī.

Al-Haytam b. 'Adī, Ag. VIII: 66<sub>28</sub>, also makes Ḥuḡr provide for the safety of his daughter and his house in the care of 'Uwayr b. Šigna, before he goes to face his fate. But here he returns to his tribe and collects troops for an expedition against the Banū Asad. When the latter were informed of this, they hurried to meet him, and in the violent fight that arose Ḥuḡr was killed by a thrust of 'Ilbā's lance. Kinda was put to flight, many were killed, and several of the family of Ḥuḡr, his wives and female slaves were taken prisoners. Imru' ul-Qays, who according to this version was with his father on this occasion, saved himself on a red horse.

Ya'qūb b. as-Sikkīt relates, citing Ḥalid al-Kilabī, the following in Ag. VIII: 67<sub>1</sub>: Ḥuḡr had visited his father during the illness from which the latter died. After his father's death he returned to the Banū Asad, whom he had tyrannized severely without even sparing their women. When they now heard that the father of Ḥuḡr was dead, they wanted to usurp his inheritance from his father and at the same time get rid of their tormentor. They joined Nawfal b. Rabi'a b. Ḥaddān and persuaded him to march against Ḥuḡr and attack him unexpectedly. And he did so, but Ḥuḡr was in the habit of sending his baggage a day in advance, and therefore only that fell into the hands of Nawfal. But now battle was inevitable. Ḥuḡr hastened against Asad, but the latter succeeded in anticipating him and attacking him unexpectedly in a place after this called Abraqā Ḥuḡr (according to Yāqūt situated on the road between al-Basra and Meccah, or more accurately between Rumayla and Falḡa, that is in the south of Naḡd, which, however, does not fit in well with the supposition that Ḥuḡr came from his father's death-bed among the tribe of Kalb in North Arabia). Asad put his troops to flight and took himself prisoner. While they were then discussing whether it was wise to kill him immediately, and one of the priests of the tribe had gone to consult an oracle regarding this, 'Ilbā', who feared that Ḥuḡr would escape being killed, engaged a young man of the tribe of the Banū Kāhil, whose father, a cousin of 'Ilbā', Ḥuḡr had killed, to avenge his father by killing Ḥuḡr, and provided him with a knife, which the youth hid in his clothes, when he slipped into the tent, where Ḥuḡr was kept prisoner. In an unguarded moment he flew at him and killed him.



Dependent on or in any case more or less agreeing with one of these 4 versions are as a rule the statements met with in other authors with regard to Ḥuḡr and his relations with the Banū Asad. Thus the Kalbitic version is found again in Ibn Qutayba, *Ši'r* p. 37,—38<sub>6</sub> and in Ibn Ḥaldūn II: 274<sub>22</sub>, whereas Ibn al-Atīr I: 376<sub>17</sub>—378<sub>11</sub> quotes all four versions from Ag. VIII: 65—68. Abū-l-Fida' p. 232 and Ibn Sa'īd (according to Ibn Ḥaldūn II: 276<sub>8</sub>) have only a summary stating that Asad killed Ḥuḡr on account of his oppression. But several new details are met with here and there in the short or long statements about Ḥuḡr in some other authors. Thus Ibn Badrūn, p. 117, says that the Banū Asad killed him »yawm māqit«, that those who took part most eagerly in this were the tribes of Mālik and Kāhil, especially a man of the latter tribe called 'Ilbā' b.al-Ḥarīṭ. In Ġamhara, p. 38, it is related, quoted from Ibn Da'b, that the man, who killed Ḥuḡr, was 'Awf b.Rabī'a b.ʿAmir of Mālik b.Ta'laba b.Dūdān of Asad. Al-Ya'qūbī I: 248 says that the leader of the Asad was 'Ilbā' b.al-Ḥarīṭ of Ta'laba, that, however, several different branches of Asad claimed to have killed Ḥuḡr, who had treated them harshly. To this statement, suggestive of the Kalbitic version, al-Ya'qūbī adds that Ḥuḡr had foreseen the attack and had provided for the safety of his daughter Hind, a statement which we have met with in the versions of aš-Šaybānī and al-Hayṭam. Contrary to the tradition of the latter is however al-Ya'qūbī's explicit statement that Imru' ul-Qays was not present on this occasion. Lastly Ibn Qutayba, *Ši'r* p. 43<sub>8</sub>, has a tradition rather suggestive of that of al-Hayṭam: Ḥuḡr treated Asad harshly, and the latter made preparations for a rebellion against him, and therefore Ḥuḡr applied to the Banū Ḥanzala b.Mālik b.Zayd Manāt b.Tamīm for assistance, which tribe however after a hint from Asad kept aloof from the affairs of Kinda and Asad. And then a battle was fought, at which Kinda was put to flight and Ḥuḡr was killed by 'Ilbā' b.al-Ḥarīṭ, whereas Imru' ul-Qays escaped. As evidence of this tradition Ibn Qutayba quotes a verse by 'Abīd b.al-Abras, Diw. 7: 6. (For this and the following quotations of the poems of 'Abīd b.al-Abras see LYALL's excellent edition and translation, mentioned above).

When wishing to select from among these different versions that which seems to give an account of the real course of events,



one would, no doubt, trusting to the authority of Ibn al-Kalbī and the poem of 'Abid b. al-Abras, included in his tradition, want to fix one's choice on him, but as LYALL has shown in his introduction, p. 4, to the *Dīwān* of 'Abid, this poem (Diw. 29) was certainly not composed by 'Abid, but by an enemy of Asad. This would of course not exclude the possibility that a good deal of truth might be found in these verses, but a more important fact is, as LYALL also points out, that the version of al-Hayṭam b. 'Adī fits in well with several of the poems of 'Abid, such as e. g. Nos. II: 27, IV: 6—20, VII, XVII: 12—18, XXVI: 11—13, *Fragm.* 1. But probably the fact is that neither version is quite in agreement with the truth. Even in the account of al-Hayṭam we must set aside some points as being false. Imru' ul-Qays was certainly not present at his father's death according to what several of his poems (see below, p. 96 f.) show and the majority of the traditions affirm. The two other versions have no support whatever from the relatively good evidence of the poems.

If we wish to derive from these accounts, which are rather contrary to each other, what seems to us to be the most probable of the later fortunes of Ḥuḡr, we ought to content ourselves with stating that all the traditions agree that Ḥuḡr by a harsh rule had raised the animosity of Asad, so that, at the first opportunity, they hurried to throw off the yoke of the princes of Kinda. From Ibn al-Kalbī we may keep the statement of Ḥuḡr sending tax collectors from Tihāma to Asad, and, owing to their hostile reception, of his being obliged to take more rigid measures, so rigid in fact that after that the Banū Asad got the hardly glorious nickname of 'Abid al-'Asā, that is »the slaves of the stick» used by Imru' ul-qays (Diw. 51: 3, see below, p. 102 f.) for Dūdān, a branch of Asad. The discontent caused by this among the tormented tribe in addition to the bad news of the removal of al-Ḥārīt from al-'Irāq caused Ḥuḡr to apply for assistance to the other tribes of the kingdom of Kinda. We are supported in this by the tradition of al-Hayṭam, which we can follow with regard to events up to the death of Ḥuḡr. In spite of the verses of 'Abid b. al-Abras it is however not quite certain that Ḥuḡr was killed in a manner so creditable to his slayer as his death in a great battle would have been. It may be imagined that tribal honour has demanded this version of the occurrence. And we must not overlook the fact

that one of the poems of Imru' ul-Qays (Diw. 43 v. 5, see below, p. 98), speaking of the death of Ḥuḡr, mentions a door with its guard, which agrees with the Kalbitic tradition. In short, the death of Ḥuḡr, as well as that of his father, is mysterious as regards its particulars. It is improbable that a long time elapsed between these two events. The removal of al-Ḥārīt from power over al-'Irāq or his death may have been the signal for the tribe of 'Asad, which did not relish the rule of Ḥuḡr, to refuse him the wanted tribute.

The two sons of al-Ḥārīt, Šurahbīl and Salama, between whom the power over the tribes of Rabi'a and Tamīm had been divided, and who consequently possessed the eastern half of the kingdom of Kinda (except al-Bahrayn), — no doubt the half, which during the time of al-Ḥārīt, especially at the encounters with Laḥmites and Persians, played the more important part — could not keep on good terms with each other for very long, and became through their civil war one cause of Kinda being definitely deprived of the power over the tribes in Naḡd. The Bakritic tradition in Muf. p. 428 ff. and other passages (see p. 23) supplies a detailed account of these hostilities. When al-Ḥārīt had died, it is related there, discord arose between his sons, and the tribes that had allied themselves with the latter took to fighting each other, so that at last the brothers collected troops against one another. And Šurahbīl marched out with Bakr b. Wa'il and those who sided with him from Ḥanzala and Usayyid b. 'Amr b. Tamīm and other parts of 'Amr b. Tamīm and ar-Ribāb, and they took up a position at al-Kulāb, which is a well between al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra. And Salama approached with Taglib and an-Namir and their confederates and Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm and part of Ḥanzala and a body-guard of mercenaries and came to al-Kulāb. And the two brothers' advisers tried to dissuade them from dissension and warned them of war and its disastrous effects, but they did not act on their advice and could not be induced to keep the peace. And thus arose »yawm al-Kulāb al-awwal«, which is one of the most famous and most celebrated of »ayyām al-'arab«, and which ushered in the later phase of the war of al-Basus, which was not to be terminated until by al-Mundir, the king of al-Ḥīra. It is not our task to produce here

all the details in the Bakritic tradition with regard to one of the greatest fights of the tribe. We will only pay attention to the contributions that the princes of Kinda themselves made to the fight, and to the consequences that this battle had with regard to Kinda and its dynasty.

As soon as the two armies caught sight of each other, the fight began, early in the morning according to the custom of the Arabs, and lasted with the greatest violence till noon, when the Banū Bakr were deserted by Ḥaṇẓala and their other confederates. Some of the auxiliaries on the side of Taġlib also withdrew, but Bakr and Taġlib continued fighting all day long, until the end came with the victory of Taġlib and the death of Šuraḥbīl.

The Bakritic tradition in Muf. p. 430 and other works describes the death of Šuraḥbīl as follows: Šuraḥbīl's herald proclaimed: »He who brings me the head of Salama shall get 100 camels». And Salama's herald proclaimed the same as regards Šuraḥbīl. (According to Aġ. and Naq. II it is only Salama that offers such a reward.) And Šuraḥbīl was among B.Ḥaṇẓala and B.'Amr b.Tamīm and ar-Ribāb, when they began to flee from him, and then Abū Ḥanaš 'Ašim (Naq. I and II, Aġ.: 'Uṣum) b.an-Nu'mān b.Mālik of Ġuṣam b.Bakr of Taġlib caught sight of where Šuraḥbīl was, made his way towards him, where he was sitting still, while people around him were fighting in extended order, stabbed him with his lance, and cut off his head, which he brought to Salama and threw at his feet. The same tradition has in immediate connection with this a more detailed account, which, however, differs from it in only a few points. Others state, it is said there, that when Ḥaṇẓala and the rest fled, Šuraḥbīl accompanied them, but was overtaken by Dū-s-Sunayna, a man of B.'Uṭha b.Sa'd b.Ġuṣam b.Bakr of Taġlib, who bore the name of Ḥabīb but was called Dū-s-Sunayna, because he had an extra tooth. And Šuraḥbīl turned round and cut him in his knee, so that he lost his leg. However, Dū-s-Sunayna and Abū Ḥanaš were sons of the same mother, Salma, daughter of 'Adī b.Rabī'a, a brother of Kulayb and Muḥalhil, and when Abū Ḥanaš saw that his brother had died, he swore to avenge him and set off after Šuraḥbīl. The latter turned round and said: »Abū Ḥanaš, are you going to kill a king for a common soldier?», but received the answer: »He was my king», after which Abū Ḥanaš stabbed him and cut off

his head. This he sent to Salama by a cousin of his, who was called Abū Aġa' b.Ka'b, and the latter threw it down before Salama, who then said: »If only you had thrown it less carelessly!» Abū Aġa' answered: »What befell him in life was worse than this». And they perceived that Salama felt sorry and mourned his brother, and Abū Ḥanaš fled and kept aloof. Then Salama said (by Naq. I and II and Aġ. attributed to Ma'dikarib, though with the addition: »It is said that the poem was made by Salama and not by Ma'dikarib«):

أَلَا أَلْبَغْ أَبَا حَنْشٍ رَسُولًا	فَمَا لَكَ لَا تَجِيءُ إِلَى الثَّوَابِ
تَعَلَّمَ أَنَّ خَيْرَ النَّاسِ طُرًّا	قَتِيلٌ بَيْنَ أَحْجَارِ الْكَلَابِ
تَدَاعَتْ حَوْلَهُ جُشَمُ بْنُ بَكْرٍ	وَأَسْلَمَهُ جَعَاسِيْسُ الرِّبَابِ

Oh, send Abū Ḥanaš word: What ails thee that thou dost not come and fetch thy reward?

Thou mayst know that the best of all men has been killed among the stones of al-Kulāb.

Around him Ġuṣam b.Bakr called out to each other and the wretched ar-Ribāb betrayed him.

Also his brother Ma'dikarib, continues the Bakritic tradition, in Muf. p. 432<sub>16</sub> and other works, who had kept out of the quarrels of his brothers, made a dirge over Šuraḥbil of which the following verses may be quoted:

إِنَّ جَنِيَّ عَنِ الْفَرَاشِ لَنَابِي	كَتَجَافِي الْأَسْرَ فَوْقَ الظَّرَابِ
مِنْ حَدِيثٍ نَمَى إِلَيَّ فَمَا تَرِ	فَأُعِينِي وَمَا أُسَيِّغُ شَرَابِي
مُرَّةً كَالذُّعَافِ أَكْتَمَهَا النَّا	سَ عَلَى حَرٍّ مَلَّةً كَالشَّهَابِ
مِنْ شُرَحْبِيلٍ إِذْ تَعَاوَرَهُ الْأَر	مَاحُ مِنْ بَعْدِ لَذَّةٍ وَشَنَابِ

يَا ابْنَ أُمِّي وَلَوْ شَهِدْتُكَ إِذْ تَدَّ عَوْتِيمًا وَأَنْتَ غَيْرُ مُجَابٍ  
 لَتَشَدَّدْتُ مِنْ ورائِكَ حَتَّى تَبْلُغَ الرَّحْبَ أَوْ تُبْزَّ ثِيَابِي  
 أَحْسَنْتُ وَائِلٌ وَعَادَتْهَا الْإِحْسَانُ بِالْجَنُودِ يَوْمَ ضَرَبَ الرِّقَابِ  
 يَوْمَ فَرَرْتُ بَنُو تَمِيمٍ وَوَلَّتْ خِيَلُهُمْ يَتَقَيْنَ بِالْأَذْنَابِ  
 وَيَحْكُمُ يَا بَنِي أُسَيْدٍ إِنِّي وَيَحْكُمُ رَبُّكُمْ وَرَبُّ الرِّبَابِ

My side has a dislike to my bed, as a camel whose breast is sore, lies restlessly on the pebbles,

Because of intelligence that has reached me, and my eye does not cease running, but my wine I cannot make run down.

I conceal something bitter as poison to people, though the heat from ashes is like a flame,

Something that I have experienced regarding Šurahbīl, that is, how the spears, one after the other, hit him after a time of pleasure and youth.

Oh, son of my mother, if I had been with thee, when thou summonedst Tamīm without receiving an answer,

I should have fought behind thee, till thou hadst reached the open field or my weapons had been taken from me.

Wa'il were in the right and their habit is to do right in a difficult cause on the day of battle,

The day when the Banū Tamīm fled and their horsemen turned round for fear.

Woe be to you, oh Banū Usayyid, woe be to you, I am your master and master of ar-Ribāb.

And when Šurahbīl had been killed B.Sa'd b.Zayd Manāt b.Tamīm sided with his family and protected it and brought it in safety to its tribe. He who arranged this was 'Uwayr b.Šigna b.al-Hārit b.'Uṭārid b.'Awf b.Ka'b b.Sa'd b.Zayd Manāt, and his family helped him. Therefore Imru' ul-Qays b.Ḥuḡr praises this



family in his poems, just as he mentions Bakr b. Wā'il because of their steadfastness, but abuses B. Hanzāla and describes how they deserted Šurahbīl, mentioning family after family.

As instances the following poems of Imru' ul-Qays are adduced: Diw. 21, 27, 57 and 66, all with a number of verses otherwise not met with, to which with LYALL<sup>1</sup> we may attribute the same authenticity as to the other verses of the poems. Of these poems the following verses may be quoted here.

Diw. 21: 3 and Muf. (p. 435): 8, 9.

أَحْظَلَ لَوْ كُنْتُمْ كِرَامًا صَبْرْتُمْ      وَحُطِّمَ وَلَا يَلْقَى التَّمِيمَى صَابِرًا  
فَلَوْ شَهِدَتْهُ عُصْبَةُ رَبْعِيَّةٍ      طَوَالَ الرِّمَاحِ يَعْتَلُونَ الْمَكَائِرَا  
لَأَبَ سَلِيمًا أَوْ لَأَرَدَتْ سُيُوفُهُمْ      وَأَرْمَاحُهُمْ يَوْمَ الْكُلَّابِ مَعَاشِرَا

Oh Hanzāla, if you had been honest, you would have held out and have been watchful, but the Tamīmīte is never found steadfast.

And if he had had with him a troop of Rabī'a, armed with long lances, they would have vanquished the armies.

He would then have returned safe and sound, or their swords and lances would even have destroyed armies on the day of al-Kulāb.

Div. 27: 1—3,5.

إِنَّ بَنِي عَوْفٍ أَثْبَتُوا حَسَبًا      ضِعَّةُ الدُّخْلُونَ إِذْ غَدَرُوا  
أَدُّوا إِلَى جَارِهِمْ خُفَارَتَهُ      وَلَمْ يَضْغِ بِالْمَغِيبِ إِذْ نَصَرُوا  
لَمْ يَفْعَلُوا فَعَلَ آلِ حَنْظَلَةَ      إِنَّهُمْ حَيْرٌ بَشَسَ مَا أَثْمَرُوا  
لَكِنْ عَوِيرٌ وَفَى بِذِمَّتِهِ      لَا عَوْرَ عَابَهُ وَلَا قَصْرُ

Behold, the Banū 'Awf have established a good reputation, which our companions lost, when they acted treacherously.

<sup>1</sup> NÖLDEKE-Studien, p. 129.



They gave support to their protégé and not even in a distant country was he lost, when they were assisting him.

They did not act as the family of Ḥanzala; for what these decided at their council was indeed evil.

But 'Uwayr held his pact in spite of one-eyedness and littleness.

Diw. 57: 1, 3, 4 and Muf. (p. 437 f.): 8, 9.

وَعَقَّرَ يَرْبُوعًا وَجَدَعَ دَارِمًا	أَلَا قَبَّحَ اللَّهُ الْبَرَاغِمَ كُلَّهَا
وَلَا آذَنُوا جَارًا فَيَظْعَنَ سَالِمًا	فَمَا قَاتَلُوا عَنْ رَبِّهِمْ وَرَبِّهِمْ
لَدَى بَابِ هِنْدٍ <sup>1</sup> إِذْ تَجَرَّدَ قَائِمًا	وَلَا فَعَلُوا فَعَلَ الْعَوِيرِ بِجَارِهِ
وَلَمْ يَجْشِمُوا عِنْدَ الْجِفَاطِ الْمَجَاشِمَا	وَأَوْفَى بَنُو عَوْفٍ وَعَفَّوْا وَأَطِيبُوا
مَسِيرًا بَعِيدًا أَبَ لِلْمَجْدِ غَانِمًا	فَسَارَ بَنُو عَوْفٍ بِجَارِ أَخِيهِمْ

May Allāh make all al-Barāgim abhorred, and cut off the hocks of Yarbū' and the nose of Dārim!

For they did not fight in defence of their master and their confederate, and they did not warn their protégé, so that he might escape unscathed.

And they did not act like 'Uwayr towards his protégé when, standing at Hind's door, he dedicated himself entirely to his duty.

But the Banū 'Awf are the most reliable, they abstain from the unallowed and do well and incur no ill when observing (their obligations).

And the Banū 'Awf accompanied their brother's protégé, when he went to a far country and returned with honour as their reward.

<sup>1</sup> Ag. VIII: 69 حَجَرٍ

Muf. (p. 436 f.): 1, 2, Diw. 66: 1, 2, 4.

أَحْظَلَ لَوْ حَامَيْتُمْ وَكَرَّمْتُمْ      لَاثْنَيْتَ خَيْرًا صَادِقًا وَلَا رِضَانِي  
وَلَكِنْ أَبِي خَذَلَانُكُمْ فَافْتَضَحْتُمْ      وَخَبَّثْتُمْ مِنْ سَعْيِكُمْ كُلِّ إِحْسَانِ  
أَلَا إِنَّ قَوْمًا كُنْتُمْ أَمْسٍ دُونَهُمْ      هُمْ مَنَعُوا جَارَاتِكُمْ آلَ غُدْرَانِ  
عَوِيرٌ وَمَنْ مِثْلَ الْعَوِيرِ وَرَهْطُهُ      وَأَسْعَدَ فِي لَيْلِ الْبَلَابِلِ صَفْوَانِ  
هُمْ بَلَّغُوا الْحَى الْمُضَلَّلَ أَهْلَهُ      وَسَارُوا بِهِمْ بَيْنَ الْعِرَاقِ وَنَجْرَانَ

Oh Ḥanzala, if you had defended (them) and had been honest, I should have had something good and true to praise, and that would have given me pleasure.

But your defection frustrated (that) and you reaped shame, and you spoiled by your behaviour all good deeds

Behold, a people that previously was not so nearly allied as you, defended your protégés, perfidious race!

'Uwayr, and who is like 'Uwayr and his family! — and Safwān gave assistance in the night of confusion.

They, that is his family, conducted the misled crowd forward to its tribe and accompanied it between al-'Irāq and Nağrān.

Further one poem included in the Dīwān of Imru' ul-Qays, no. 58, is cited in the Bakritic tradition in Muf. p. 428<sup>19-21</sup>, but there as well as in Naq. p. 453 it is ascribed to Salama (whereas in Naq. p. 1074 and Ag XI: 64 it is put into the mouth of Imru' ul-Qays) and is said to allude to his opposition to the advisers, who tried to avert war between the brothers:

أَنِّي عَلَى أُسْتَبَّ لَوْمَكُمَا      وَلَمْ تَلُومَا عَمْرًا<sup>1</sup> وَلَا عَصْمَا

<sup>1</sup> حَجْرًا Diw. 58

كَلَّا يَمِينُ الْإِلَهِ يَجْمَعُنَا      شَيْءٌ وَأَخْوَالَنَا بَنَى جَشَمًا  
حَتَّى تَزُورَ الصَّبَاغَ مَلْحَمَةً      كَانَتْهَا مِنْ ثَمُودَ أَوْ أَرَمًا

Why was your disapproval of me so strong? You did not blame 'Amr nor 'Uṣum.

However! By the right hand of Allah! A matter will throw us and our maternal uncles, the Banū Ġuṣam, together,

In order that the hyenas may visit a battle-field, as if it were in the days of Tamūd or 'Iram.

The Bakritic tradition is quite in a class by itself as regards everything that concerns the battle of al-Kulāb, Ibn al-Kalbī has only brief information to add to it, however without citing his father's authority. The only one of these notices that is worth mentioning is found in Muf. p. 428<sub>22-23</sub>, where it is said: »He means (in the quoted poem) 'Amr b. Kulṭūm and 'Uṣum b. an-Nu'mān, two cousins of Mālik b. 'Attāb b. Sa'd b. Zuhayr b. Ġuṣam. And 'Uṣum is Abū Ḥanaš».

Ibn Ḥaldūn's (II: 274<sub>11-21</sub>) account of Šurahbīl is no doubt based on the Bakritic tradition, though the obviously roughly used text shows gaps and confused forms of names.

Abū 'Ubayda, who in the two versions of the Naqā'id follows the Bakritic tradition, is in 'Iqd III: 77<sub>21</sub> cited as the informant of a version, differing from it on certain points. Discord arose between Šurahbīl and Maslama<sup>1</sup> with regard to the division of power after al-Ḥārith's death, and they made an appointment to meet at al-Kulāb. Šurahbīl came there with Dabba, all ar-Ribāb, B. Yarbū' and Bakr b. Wā'il, Maslama with Taglib, an-Namir, Bahrā' and his confederates from B. Mālik b. Ḥanzala. But Bakr followed Šurahbīl only on account of its animosity against B. Taglib. And they met at al-Kulāb, and the fight grew violent among B. Yarbū', and Abū Ḥanaš killed Šurahbīl and wanted to bring his head to Maslama but feared him and sent it by a slave. And when Maslama saw it, tears came into his eyes, and he said: »Have you killed him?» — »No», he said, »Abū Ḥanaš did it.» — »I pay the reward only to him, who killed him», said

<sup>1</sup> i. e. Salama, see above p. 70.

Maslama then, but Abū Ḥanaš fled, and so Maslama composed the verses, quoted also in the above-mentioned Bakritic tradition.

Al-Ya'qūbī I: 247 has nothing further to relate about the battle between Šuraḥbīl and Salama, but gives on the other hand an explanation of the origin of the enmity, which is very interesting. When al-Ḥārīt had been killed, it is related, his sons kept their kingdoms and continued the fight against al-Mundīr in order to avenge their father. But when al-Mundīr saw that they had the power over the country of the Arabs, he envied them it and instigated enmity between them by sending gifts to Salama and to Šuraḥbīl a secret messenger, who said to him: »Salama is more honoured than you, for he has got these gifts from al-Mundīr». And then Šuraḥbīl deprived his brother of the gifts. Also in other ways he roused them against each other, so that at last they took to fighting, and then Šuraḥbīl was killed. And when Salama heard of this, he mourned his brother and was sorry that al-Mundīr had been successful in his purpose. And then some verses of the poem by Ma'd īkarib, quoted above, (see p. 84 f.) are here put into his mouth. In connection with this it may be pointed out that the surname of al-Ġalfā<sup>1</sup>, which is otherwise as a rule attributed to Ma'dīkarib (see however Naq. p. 448<sub>13</sub>), is in this tradition used three times for Salama.

Of course we cannot settle how far the details as regards names and events may be correct in any of the versions of the battle of al-Kulāb. What seems to be certain is however that, rather soon after al-Ḥārīt's death, the two princes Šuraḥbīl and Salama fell out with each other regarding the question of dominion over the dissolving kingdom of Kinda. That the old antagonism between Bakr and Taglib as well as al-Mundīr's interest in sundering them from each other may have also been contributory causes, is likely. From the fact that the decisive battle is fought on the frontier of al-'Irāq, whereas the preceding »days» during the war of al-Basūs are located to al-Yamāma and South Eastern Nağd<sup>2</sup>, it may be concluded that the two tribes have in the meantime been migrating northwards to the territories of North Eastern Arabia and Mesopotamia, where they live in Mo-

<sup>1</sup> With regard to the use and sense of this name see Muf. LIV. 19 and LYALL's note.

<sup>2</sup> See BLAU, Z.D.M.G. 23, 579 f.

hammed's time. The military expeditions of al-Ḥarīṭ against al-Ḥīra and al-'Irāq are to be considered as manifestations of these efforts to expand. The danger for the Laḥmites was however warded off and then it became a task for al-Mundir to bring his new neighbours under his rule.

With regard to the date of the battle of al-Kulāb, we had, no doubt, better not settle, as CAUSSIN DE PERCEVAL, BLAU and others do, on a fixed year. That it took place some time after al-Ḥarīṭ's death is all that can be stated for certain. Whether it did not happen until after the death of Ḥuḡr among the Banū Asad is on the other hand not so easy to decide. In favour of such a supposition the statement in the Kalbitic tradition in Ag. VIII: 65,<sup>14</sup> regarding an army of Rabī'a under the command of Ḥuḡr during the expedition against the Banū Asad (see above, p. 77) seems to argue, and also another from the same origin, ibm 69,<sup>19</sup> that, when Imru' ul-Qays is about to avenge his father (see below, p. 99), he collects an army from Bakr and Taglib combined. Anything like that can hardly have happened, after the war between these tribes had arisen again, nor after they had been subjugated by al-Mundir, the worst enemy of the Kindites. It is however curious that neither in these traditions nor in the poems of Imru' ul-Qays at his father's death (see below, p. 96 f.) Šurāḥbil or Salama is mentioned. Imru' ul-Qays only reproaches the tribes for having deserted his father.

An eventual possibility of dating the battle of al-Kulāb can be gleaned from the poem of Salama, quoted above, (p. 88) (= Imr. Diw. 58), where in verse 1 a certain 'Amr (Ag. XI and Imr. Diw., however, have Ḥuḡr) is mentioned.

The occurrence of 'Amr in this verse would, if it were authentic and if, as Ibn al-Kalbī states (see above, p. 89); 'Amr b. Kulthūm, the author of the mu'allaqa, who in the year 569 killed the king of al-Ḥīra, 'Amr b. al-Mundir, were really intended, necessitate, according to LYALL, a fixing of the date of the battle of al-Kulāb to as late as the end of al-Mundir's reign, that is to say about the year 550. This single name, the most common of all and in a verse that is questionable as regards its origin as well as its reading, can however no more be conclusive evidence than the mentioning of Taglib among the tribes that, under al-Mundir, pursued al-

<sup>1</sup> NÖLDEKE-Studien, p. 129.

Ḥarīt and took his family prisoners, which would fix the battle of al-Kulāb to the year 528 at the latest. A fact, which is a more proper basis to build upon, is the unanimous statements of the Arabian tradition with regard to the length of the war of al-Basūs. It is not to assume that the 40 years, which are generally considered to have elapsed from the death of Kulayb till the final peace, should be anything but a round number. But probably we may be fairly sure that this is an upper limit. If we have reason to suppose that the war of al-Basūs began in one of the first years of the nineties of the fifth century (see above, p. 50), we can certainly not fix the battle of al-Kulāb to later than a few years after 530.

About the fortunes of the other brothers there is not much to say. According to the Bakritic tradition in Muf. p. 441, the conqueror of al-Kulāb, Salama, was expelled by Taglib and then fled to Bakr, while Taglib joined al-Mundir. The Kalbitic tradition in Muf. p. 441, says that Ma'dikarib went mad and Salama became lame and their kingdoms disintegrated and collapsed, and after that they left for Ḥaḍramawt. The kingship was lost for the house of Ākil al-murār and the family of al-Ḥarīt b. Mu'awiya became chiefs. It is said in Naq. p. 887<sub>10</sub>, which passage is based on the authority of al-Aṣma'i, that Ma'dikarib al-Ġalfa' fell in the battle of Uwāra, but no reliable information regarding the overthrow of the princes of Kinda within the different tribes is to be obtained. That a period of war of all against all began after al-Ḥarīt's death is however certain.

According to Hamza, p. 141, all the sons of al-Ḥarīt succumbed to the king of al-Ḥira, who thereby subjected the main part of the proud kingdom of Kinda. Simultaneously the dynasty of Ākil al-murār was very nearly extinguished. It never again came into power in Naǧd and the chiefs of Kinda during the following period, as mentioned by tradition, are only distant relations of the family of Ākil al-murār. Some descendants of al-Ḥarīt however escaped destruction. Thus it has been related (p. 85) how the loyal 'Uwayr of the Banū 'Awf saved the family of Šurahbīl, and brought them into safety among their tribesmen in South Arabia (Naǧrān. Diw. 66: 4). According to al-Hayṭam b. 'Adī, Ag. VIII: 69, the same 'Uwayr b. Šignā brought also Hind, the daughter of Ḥuǧr, and his menials to tribesmen in Naǧrān. This



is in agreement with al-Haytam b. 'Adi's own statement and with that of aš-Šaybānī that Ḥuḡr had provided for the safety of his family in the care of 'Uwayr (see above, p. 78) and is supported by al-Haytam with partly the same verses that the Bakritic tradition in Muf. p. 435 ff. quotes with reference to the faithfulness of 'Uwayr to the family of Šuraḥbīl, Diw. 66: 1, 2, 4 and 57: 1, 4. It is possible that Diw. 57: 4 alludes to an earlier proof of the loyalty of 'Uwayr to the family of the princes of Kinda, but al-'Irāq in Diw. 66: 4, as well as the enumeration of the tribes in 57: 1, points distinctly to the situation after the battle of al-Kulab. Another member that al-Mundir never succeeded in seizing was the most famous of the family, Imru' ul-Qays b. Ḥuḡr, who after his father's death devoted the rest of his life to travelling from tribe to tribe trying to take vengeance on the Banū Asad.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### Imru' ul-Qays.

Though the kingdom of Kinda was overthrown with al-Ḥarīṭ and his sons, and consequently Imru' ul-Qays b.Ḥuḡr b.al-Ḥarīṭ can hardly be spoken of as being a real king over either the kingdom of Kinda or any part of it, he has however his place in this account of the fortunes of the princes of Kinda belonging to the family of Ākil al-murār thanks to the untiring efforts he makes to avenge his father and recover the power of the latter, during which he partly tries to unite the remaining followers of the princes of Kinda under his command, and partly seeks refuge with the princes of South Arabia and Byzantium.

Imru' ul-Qays is according to Ibn as-Sikkīt in *Ag.* VIII: 67 the youngest of the sons of Ḥuḡr. Of the others this tradition mentions only the eldest, Nāfi', whose name is also considered to appear in a verse by Imru' ul-Qays (*App.* 13)<sup>1</sup>,

أُرِفْتُ وَلَمْ يَأْرِقْ لِمَا بِي نَافِعٌ      وَهَاجَ لِي الشَّوْقُ الْهَمُومُ الرَّوَاعِ

I have been sleepless, but Nāfi' was not sleepless in my condition, and my eagerness roused the craving cares.

Of Imru' ul-Qays, the principal poet of the Arabs, *Kitāb al-Aḡani* (VIII: 62—76), as well as Ibn Qutayba, *Ši'r* p. 37—52, treats in detail. To include here all the traditions, met with there and elsewhere, regarding his adventures, opinions of his poems, and comparisons between him and other poets is outside the bounds of this treatise. Only what can be used for a picture of Imru' ul-Qays, the prince of Kinda, and his struggles for power will here be taken into consideration.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. however DE SLANE, *Amro'ikaïs*, p. 14.

The real name of Imru' ul-Qays is said to be Hunduġ, 'Adiy or Mulayka (as-Suyūṭi: Kitāb al-muzhir, Cairo 1282, II: 214) or Sulaymān (al-Firūzābādī, al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ, Cairo 1272, I: 546.), but he calls himself only Imru' ul-Qays (Diw. 60: 4, see below, p. 108), which has also become his almost solely prevalent name. With regard to its reading and transcription see for the greatest amount of detail FISCHER, *Islamica* I: 1, 1925, p. 1 f., who prefers the accusative form Imra' al-Qays to the nominative form used here.

No tradition tells us when Imru' ul-Qays was born. Probably it was however about the year 500. His mother is according to Ag. VIII: 62 generally said to have been Fātima, a daughter of Rabī'a b. al-Ḥārith b. Zuhayr and sister of Kulayb and Muḥalhil, all of them illustrious men of the tribe of Taglib. There is however one verse, ascribed to Imru' ul-Qays (Diw. 20: 37), where he mentions a certain Imru' ul-Qays, son of Tamlik. This verse, which in Ag. VIII: 63, serves as evidence for the opinion that the mother of Imru' ul-Qays was called Tamlik, a daughter of 'Amr b. Zubayd of the family 'Amr b. Ma'dikarib, may however have been interpolated in this poem and may emanate from one of the many other poets called Imru' ul-Qays, of whom AHLWARDT<sup>1</sup> mentions sixteen. Evidence for this latter opinion we find in the fact that those who gave his mother the name of Tamlik called him (Ag. VIII: 62) Imru' ul-Qays b. Simt b. Imri' il-Qays b. 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya b. Tawr, that is Kinda.

That Imru' ul-Qays was born in the country of the Banū Asad is stated by Ibn as-Sikkit in Ag. VIII: 63, and that he spent his early youth there is evident from the many place names from that neighbourhood<sup>2</sup> which are met with in his earlier poems. Ibn Qutayba also affirms in *Ši'r* p. 37 that the country he describes in his poems is that of the Banū Asad. According to Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb in Ag. VIII: 63<sub>13</sub>, however, he lived in the castle of al-Muṣaqqar in al-Yamāma, or as others said in a castle in al-Baḥrayn. Even if this was the case for some time, which is not unimaginable, as al-Muṣaqqar as well as al-Baḥrayn belonged to Kindites (see al-Ḥamdānī, p. 151), it was probably not until after he had been expelled by his father.

The fact of the matter is that for some reason or other Imru'

<sup>1</sup> Bemerkungen über die Echtheit der alten Arabischen Gedichte, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. MORITZ, *Arabien*, p. 53 f.

ul-Qays roused his father's anger, according to the Kalbitic tradition, which cites the Asadite Ibn al-Kāhin, in Ag. VIII: 68, only on account of his being a poet; according to Ibn Qutayba, Šī'r p. 37, through a poem, the mu'allaqa, verses 4 ff., where he gave an account of his adventure at Dāra Ġulgūl, (related in Ibn Qutayba, Šī'r p. 49<sub>8</sub>—50<sub>16</sub>, where it is based on al-Farazdaq via Muḥammad b.Sallām); most probably however owing to libellous verses or some indiscretion towards one of his father's wives, as may possibly be deduced from Diw. 17: 4 and 19: 7 and is also certified by Abū 'Abdallāh b.Hišām in his commentary on Ibn Durayd's Maqsūra, verse 33. In any case Imru' ul-Qays had to flee and, according to Ibn al-Kalbī and others in Ag. VIII: 68, after that he was roving about with unsettled people, belonging to the tribes of Tayyī', Bakr, and Kalb, and settling down wherever he found water and pasture. According to Muḥammad b.Sallām in Ibn Qutayba, Šī'r p. 48<sub>14</sub>, he found refuge with his uncle Šuraḥbīl among the Banū Dārim, till Šuraḥbīl was killed. That however opinions about the exile of Imru' ul-Qays are not quite unanimous is evident from one of the versions, reproduced above (p. 78 f.), of the account of the death of Ḥuġr, where al-Hayṭam b.'Adī relates that Imru' ul-Qays was with his father, when the Banū Asad attacked him, and that he saved himself by flying on his red horse.

When Imru' ul-Qays received the news of the death of Ḥuġr, he happened, according to the Kalbitic tradition, based on the Asadite Ibn al-Kāhin, in Ag. VIII: 68<sub>5</sub> (= I. Q. Šī'r p. 38<sub>18</sub>), to be in Dammūn in al-Yaman, which in al-Hamdānī p. 85<sub>26</sub> is said to be a town in Ḥaḍramawt belonging to the family of aṣ-Šaḍaf, where (p. 86<sub>6</sub>) descendants of the princes of Kinda had settled down, and which Imru' ul-Qays had visited according to a verse ascribed to him. This verse is with very little variation (أَسْمَرٌ instead of أَلْهُو) also to be found in AHLW. App. 26: 5, taken from Yāqūt II: 601.

كَأَنِّي لَمْ أَلْهُو بِدَمَوْنَ مَرَّةً      وَلَمْ أَشْهَدْ الْغَارَاتِ يَوْمًا بِعَنْدَلٍ

As though I had not rejoiced once in Dammūn and had not taken part once in the attacks on 'Andal (another of the towns of aṣ-Ṣadaf).

The Kalbitic tradition goes on to cite another poem Diw. 61, which Imru' ul-Qays is said to have uttered on being informed of his father's death.

تَطَاوَلَ اللَّيْلُ عَلَيْنَا دَمَوْنُ      دَمَوْنُ أَنَا مَعَشَرُ يَمَانُونُ  
وَأَنَّا لِأَهْلِنَا مُحِبُّونُ

The night was long to us, Dammūn.  
Dammūn, we are a crowd of Yamanites,  
And we are attached to our family.

The messenger was, according to the same tradition, a man of the Banū 'Iḡl, called 'Āmir al-A'war, which is certified by the following poem (Diw. 56) by Imru' ul-Qays.

أَتَانِي وَأَصْحَابِي عَلَى رَأْسٍ صَيْلَعٍ      حَدِيثُ أَطَالَ النَّوْمَ عَنِّي فَأَنْعَمَا  
فَقُلْتُ لِعَجَلِي بَعِيدٍ مَا بِهِ      أَبْنِ لِي وَيَنْ لِي الْحَدِيثَ الْمُجْتَمِعَا  
فَقَالَ آيَتَ اللَّعْنِ عُمَرُو وَكَاهِلُ      أَبَا حَمِي حُجْرٍ فَأَصْبَحَ مُسْلِمَا

To me and my companions on the top of Ṣayla' there came tidings that bereft me of the sleep that was so sweet.

And I said to an 'Iḡlite from a country far away: »Speak to me in plain words and explain the incomprehensible news!«

And he said: »No woe betide you! 'Amr and Kāhil have intruded into the forbidden ground of Ḥuḡr, and he found himself suddenly betrayed«.

Also this local reference, the mountain of Ṣayla', seems to point to the fact that it was in South Arabia that Imru' ul-Qays

received the news of his father's death. Ṣayla' is according to Yāqūt thickly covered with bān, a spice-tree, ben-tree, common in the South Arabian land of spices (see LANE). Al-Hayṭam b. 'Adī, Ag. VIII: 68<sub>24</sub>, has a different opinion regarding the whereabouts of Imru' ul-Qays at his father's death and says that he was with the Banū Ḥanzala, to which tribe his nurse belonged, which however differs from his own tradition Ag. VIII: 66<sub>28</sub> too (see above p. 79).

While, according to the tradition of Ibn as-Sikkīt in Ag. VIII: 67, the other sons of Ḥuḡr had by their deedless grief proved unworthy of beginning the war of vengeance for their father, Imru' ul-Qays showed, it is true, no outward signs of his grief, but vowed to abstain from wine and women, till he had avenged his father. According to the Kalbitic tradition he gave vent to his indignation at what had happened in the following poem, Diw. 43.

أَرَفْتُ لِبَرَقٍ بَلِيلٍ أَهْلَ	يُضِيءُ سَنَاهُ بِأَعْلَى الْجَبَلِ
أَتَانِي حَدِيثٌ فَكَذَّبْتُهُ	بِأَمْرِ تَزَعَزَعَ مِنْهُ الْقَلْدُ
بَقَتِلَ بَنِي أَسَدٍ رَبَّهُمْ	أَلَا كُلُّ شَيْءٍ سِوَاهُ جَلَلٌ
فَأَيْنَ رَبِيعَةٌ عَنْ رَبِّهَا	وَأَيْنَ تَمِيمٌ وَأَيْنَ الْخَوْلُ
أَلَا يَحْضُرُونَ لَدَى بَابِهِ	كَمَا يَحْضُرُونَ إِذَا مَا اسْتَهَلَّ

In a night with a new moon, a flash, the light of which illuminated the mountain top, woke me.

A message that I could not believe brought me tidings, at which the mountain tops quaked,

That the Banū Asad have killed their lord. Is not everything but that of little importance?

And where were Rabī'a, far away from their lord? And where Tamīm? And where were the servants?

Were they not standing at his door, as they used to stand there, when he had called.



In connection with the version of the account of the death of Ḥuḡr, represented by al-Hayṭam b. 'Adī in *Ag.* VIII: 66<sub>28</sub> and by Ibn Qutayba in *Ši'r* p. 43<sub>17</sub>, where Imru' ul-Qays is present at his father's death, it is said (however only in Ibn Qutayba) that when flying he vowed to avenge his father.

When Imru' ul-Qays was going to enter on the struggle against Asad, he applied according to the Kalbitic tradition as well as that of Ya'qūb b. as-Sikkīt, based on Ḥalīd al-Kilābī, in *Ag.* VIII: 69<sub>19</sub> to the tribes of Bakr and Taglib for assistance against Asad. According to Ibn Qutayba, *Ši'r* p. 43<sub>17</sub>, it was however to Dū Ḡadan of Ḥimyar that he directed his steps. It is remarkable that the version which presupposes that Imru' ul-Qays was in South Arabia at his father's death makes him seek assistance in Naḡd and vice versa. We know however of no Ḥimyaritic prince called Dū Ḡadan from this time, nor are any Ḥimyarites mentioned in the verses of Imru' ul-Qays that describe this first expedition of vengeance against Asad, whereas Sa'b, a subtribe of Bakr, is mentioned in *Diw.* 44: 8 (see below p. 101), a poem which certainly alludes to his first attempt to take vengeance on the slayers of Ḥuḡr, and not, as al-Hayṭam b. 'Adī in *Ag.* VIII: 69 supposes, to the occasion, when Imru' ul-Qays is informed of his father's death. It was, no doubt, irrespective of where Imru' ul-Qays was, most suitable for an immediate expedition against Asad to collect firstly Kindites, and secondly Ma'addite tribes subject to the princes of Kinda.

The preparations of the prince of Kinda had however become known to the Banū Asad and frightened them. In *Ag.* VIII: 75 we find an account, based on Abū 'Ubayda, Sibawayhi, and al-Ḥalīl b. Aḥmad, of an attempt made by Asad to avoid hostilities by offering very ample blood-money. They sent to him, it is said, some of the greatest men of the tribe, who were received well and respectfully by Imru' ul-Qays but were not allowed to see him for three days. When they asked, what he was doing, they were answered that he was busy with preparations for a war, taking out weapons and equipment from his father's store. Then they said, it was to prevent this that they had come to him. When at last Imru' ul-Qays made his appearance, he was wearing a black turban, a token of his intention to carry on a blood-feud. One of the messengers, Qabīsa b. Nu'aim, who did not belong to the Banū Asad but lived with them, tried with great

eloquence to persuade him how much the whole tribe regretted the death of Ḥuġr, and ended by offering him as blood-money his own choice between the principal chiefs of the Banū Asad or all the camels that the tribe possessed. Imru' ul-Qays however rejected both proposals with the words: »All Arabs know that Ḥuġr had not an equal, whose death might balance his, and it would be infamous to accept camels for his blood». And after that the messengers had to return with their errand unaccomplished. This account, great parts of which no doubt are of a rather late date and which in its entirety makes the impression of a forgery, may nevertheless be built on a real foundation.

The same episode is described very summarily in Ag. XIX: 85, also there with Abū 'Ubayda as the informant. There the number of the camels is fixed to 1000, and Imru' ul-Qays not only declines the offers of blood-money but also promises to take bloody vengeance, about which 'Abīd b.al-Abrāṣ is said to have composed the seventh poem in his *Dīwān*. In this poem no mention is made, it is true, of a similar attempt at a peaceable arrangement, but on the other hand it is likely that the Banū Asad were seized with misgivings, when they understood that the mighty tribes of Rabi'a were willing to assist Imru' ul-Qays, and therefore made haste to offer him blood-money for Ḥuġr.

The Kalbitic tradition and, in agreement with it and based on Ḥalid al-Kilabī, Ya'qūb b.as-Sikkīt relate in Ag. VIII: 69,<sup>19</sup> the following regarding the expedition against Asad.

When 'Ilbā' b.al-Ḥarīt had observed that the spies of Imru' ul-Qays had been among the Banū Asad, he advised the tribe to leave that very night and to leave without the Banū Kināna, together with whom Asad were then living, noticing it. This happened, and when Imru' ul-Qays and his confederates arrived, they attacked the Banū Kināna and, shouting: Vengeance for the king! they began to massacre this innocent tribe, till an old woman came forth to Imru' ul-Qays from one of the tents, saying: »No harm may be done to you! You have no vengeance to exact from us: we belong to Kināna. Those whom you look for, left last night». Imru' ul-Qays at once hastened to pursue them, but Asad succeeded in escaping that night. And Imru' ul-Qays made a poem, *Diw.* 7, about this:

أَلَا يَا لَهْفَ هِنْدٍ إِثْرَ قَوْمٍ      هُمْ كَانُوا الشِّفَاءَ فَلَمْ يَصَابُوا  
وَقَامَ جَدُّهُمْ بَنَى أَبِيهِمْ      وَبِالْأَشَقِينَ مَا كَانَ الْعِقَابُ  
وَأَفْلَتَهُنَّ عِلَاءٌ جَرِيضًا      وَلَوْ أَدْرَكْنَهُ صَفَرِ الْوِطَابُ

Alas, what sorrow to Hind (to see) (only) traces of a tribe; they were the remedy, but they were not overtaken (by our vengeance).

Their good luck saved them by (sacrificing) their father's sons (i. e. Kināna); and punishment fell (instead) on those most worthy of pity.

And 'Ilbā' escaped them (the band of horsemen) terrified; but had they overtaken him, the milk sacks would have become empty.

Another poem, which certainly alludes to the same event, is the above-mentioned Diw. 44.

يَا لَهْفَ هِنْدٍ إِذْ خَطَنَ كَاهِلًا      أَلْقَاتِلِينَ الْمَلِكِ الْحَلَاةِ  
خَيْرَ مَعَدٍ حَسْبًا وَنَائِلًا      وَخَيْرَهُمْ قَدْ عَلِمُوا شَمَائِلًا  
تَاللَّهِ لَا يَذْهَبُ شَيْخِي بَاطِلًا      نَحْنُ جَلَبْنَا الْقُرَحَ الْقَوَافِلَا  
يَحْمِلُنَا وَالْأَسَلَ النَّوَاهِلَا      وَحَى صَعْبٍ وَالْوَشِيحَ الذَّابِلَا

What a pity for Hind, when they (our horsemen) missed Kāhil, Who had killed the mighty king, The foremost man within Ma'add in reputation and generosity, And the best of them, as they knew well, as regards good qualities.

By Allāh, my father shall not be lost unavenged.

We have urged the lean horses forwards, which have got all their teeth, (that is, which are five years old)

So that they carry us and our thirsty lances,  
And the tribe of Sa'b and their slender lances,

Both poems speak of a vain pursuit of 'Ilbā' or his tribe Kāhil, and both of them are further addressed to Hind, who is pitied, because the vengeance failed. This Hind is in all probability the daughter of Ḥuḡr, who according to al-Hayṭam b. 'Adī and Abū 'Amr aš-Saybānī (see above, p. 78 f.) was saved by 'Uwayr b. Šigna after the death of Ḥuḡr and brought into safety with relatives in Naḡrān (cf. p. 92) or possibly a daughter of Imru' ul-Qays, who (see below, p. 108) is said to have accompanied him on his later wanderings.

Imru' ul-Qays however continued, according to the Kalbitic tradition and that of Ibn as-Sikkī, Aḡ. VIII: 70, the pursuit of his flying enemies on the following day, having found their track in the sand, and overtook them in the evening, when they were resting at a well. In spite of his men being done up with thirst and his horses exhausted, he attacked and killed and wounded many of the Banū Asad, who fought till the approach of night but then fled. On the following day the men of Bakr and Taglib refused to continue the pursuit, saying to Imru' ul-Qays: »You have attained your vengeance.» — »By Allah, I have not! Neither on the Banū Kāhil nor on other branches of the Banū Asad.» — »Yes, but you are an unlucky man». They had been exceedingly grieved at the attack on Kināna, and therefore they left him.

Ibn Qutayba describes in Ši'r p. 43<sub>17</sub> the attack on Kināna and the pursuit of Asad in agreement with the Kalbitic tradition and quotes in addition some verses of Imru' ul-Qays, Diw. 51, of which poem probably verses 3—10 allude to this fight, the only victory over Asad that Imru' ul-Qays can have had to celebrate in song. Here vv. 3—5, 9 and 10 may be quoted.

قولا لدودان عبيد العصا      ما غرّكم بالأسد الباسل

قد قرّت العينان من ملكٍ      ومن بنى عمرو ومن كاهل

ومن بنى غنم بن دودان اذ      يقذف اعلام على السافل

حَلَّتْ لِي الْخَمْرُ وَكُنْتُ أَمْرًا      عَنْ شَرِبِهَا فِي شُغْلٍ شَاغِلٍ

فَالْيَوْمَ أَشْرَبَ غَيْرُ مُسْتَحِقِّ      إِثْمًا مِنْ اللَّهِ وَلَا وَاغِلٍ

Do tell Dūdān: »Slaves of the stick! What made you go against the brave lion?»

My eyes rejoiced at Mālik and the Banū 'Amr and Kāhil

And at the Banū Ġanm b.Dūdān, when we threw them head-long down.

I am now allowed to drink wine, but I was a man whom an all-engrossing labour prevented from drinking it.

But to-day I will drink without contracting the judgment of Allāh and without being a parasite.

Even though, consequently, Imru' ul-Qays considered this vengeance on Asad sufficient to release him from his oath of abstinence, he neither himself settled down after it, nor did his contemporary 'Abīd b.al-Abrās (cf. Ibn Qutayba, *Šī'r* p. 39<sub>13</sub>) count his victory as worth anything, as is evident from the seventh poem in the *Dīwān* of 'Abīd.

Al-Ya'qūbī, I: 248, and, probably based on him, Ibn Badrūn, p. 119, agree on the whole with the Kalbitic tradition as regards the attack on Kināna, which however in this version is made clear to 'Ilbā' not by spies but by partridges, which the approaching enemy had frightened, but has nothing to say about the pursuit of Asad and the fight against them.

Abū-l-Fidā' p. 232 and Ibn Haldūn II: 274 describe the unsuccessful attack on Asad in accordance with the Kalbitic tradition, but then differ from it by stating that Imru' ul-Qays did not achieve anything with his pursuit.

When Bakr and Taglib deserted Imru' ul-Qays, he had to seek assistance in other directions. Ibn as-Sikkit, based on Ḥalid al-Kilābī, differs in Ag. VIII: 70, from Ibn al-Kalbī and other informants, who all of them relate, *ibm.* p. 70<sub>14</sub>, that the prince of Kinda hastened to the Himyarites, and says that he came to them only after having found refuge for some time with his cousin 'Amr, son of al-Mundir of al-Ḥira and Hind, sister of Ḥuḡr. 'Amr is



said to have been about that time his father's governor in Baqqa, a town on the Euphrates between al-Anbār and Hīt. Imru' ul-Qays had reminded him of the family ties that joined them, and then, in spite of the fierce animosity between the Lahmites and the Kindites, 'Amr had given him protection. As soon however as al-Mundir heard of this, Imru' ul-Qays had to flee as quickly as possible and then proceeded to Himyar. This narrative finds no support whatever in the poems, and stands quite isolated among all the traditions regarding the life of Imru' ul-Qays. It is declared expressly in the story that this happened »after the murder of his father and uncles and after the dethronement of his family.»

From this tradition we thus get not only a detail, which however is extremely improbable, elsewhere missing in the story of Imru' ul-Qays, but also a chronological statement, that would be of the greatest importance, if given in a more trustworthy tradition. As Imru' ul-Qays is said to have come directly from the fight against Asad to 'Amr b. al-Mundir, this fight must consequently also have taken place after not only Ḥuḡr but also his brothers had died. Thus we should here have evidence for Imru' ul-Qays having collected troops from Bakr and Taglib after the battle of al-Kulāb, after these tribes had already submitted to al-Mundir. The tradition in question is however too weakly certified and probably without any historical foundation.

According to Ibn al-Kalbī, al-Hayṭam b. 'Adī, 'Amr b. Šabba, and Ibn Qutayba in *Aḡ VIII*: 70, Imru' ul-Qays immediately proceeded, when Bakr and Taglib had deserted him during his pursuit of Asad, to al-Yaman and applied to a tribe called Azd Šanū'a for assistance. This tribe however refused to march against their »brothers and confederates», as they called the Banū Asad, though they themselves used to be numbered with the South Arabian group. Then he passed on to a Himyaritic chief, qayl, called Martad b. Dū Gadan, with whom he could claim kindred, and asked for protection and assistance against Asad. Martad's name makes him a son of the prince of Himyar, to whom Imru' ul-Qays, according to the tradition of Ibn Qutayba (see above, p. 99), had applied previously. Probably it is one and the same event that is referred to, and we had better fix it to some date after Imru' ul-Qays had made use of the



assistance from Bakr and Taglib. The name of Martad is to be preferred to Dū Ġadan, only given by the legend, as it is also found in a short fragment of a poem by Imru' ul-Qays, Diw. 49.

وَإِذْ نَحْنُ نَدْعُو مَرْتَدَّ الْخَيْرِ رَبَّنَا      وَإِذْ نَحْنُ لَا نَدْعِي عبيدا لِقَرْمَلِ

And then we called Martad al-Ḥayr our master, and then we were not called slaves of Qarmal.

Martad received Imru' ul-Qays well and promised to help him with 500 men but died, before the army had begun to move. His successor, Qarmal son of al-Ḥamīm and a negress, did everything he could in order to delay the departure of Imru' ul-Qays, at which the latter at last lost his patience and gave vent to his indignation in the afore-said poem, which resulted in Qarmal letting him march away with the army. Also a great many vagrants joined the army, and Imru' ul-Qays also took into his service people from other Arabian tribes, and then marched against the Banū Asad. His way crossed a place called Tabāla, (one day's journey from Biṣā, according to Yāqūt I: 816) where a famous divinity Dū-l-Ḥulaṣa was worshipped and had an oracle, whose answers were given by means of three lot arrows, called al-āmīr, the commanding, an-nāhī, the forbidding, and al-mutarabbiṣ, the awaiting. Imru' ul-Qays drew an-nāhī three times, after which he collected the arrows once more, broke them to pieces, and threw the pieces into the face of the image of the god together with a most indecent remark and added: »If your father had been killed, you would not have forbidden me to take vengeance for mine.« After that he marched away against the Banū Asad.

Ibn Haldūn II: 275 relates that Imru' ul-Qays got the assistance mentioned above from one of the kings of Ḥimyar called Mu'tir al-Ḥayr b. Dū Ġadan, evidently a mistake for Martad (see above). Of his visiting the oracle he makes, however no mention. That the tradition regarding that ought to be taken with the greatest caution and can hardly be used as evidence for a statement regarding the religious stand-point of Imru' ul-Qays and his companions is evident from Ibn Hiṣam, p. 56, where it is said that it is wrong to ascribe, as some people do, the following verses

to Imru' ul-Qays. They are said to have been composed by an Arab, whose father had been killed and who asked the advice of Dū-l-Hulaṣa regarding taking vengeance for him but received an answer in the negative through »the forbidding» arrow.

لو كنت يا ذا الخَلَصِ المَوْتورا      مثلى وكان شَيْخُكَ المَقْبورا

لم تَنَّهُ عن قَتْلِ العَدَاةِ زورا

If thou, oh Dū-l-Hulaṣ (= Dū-l-Hulaṣa), wert the pursued one  
As I, and thy father were the buried one,

Thou wouldst not, oh false divinity, forbid the killing of the  
enemies!

Asad had, however, according to Ibn Ḥaldūn II: 274, as early as at the first attack of Imru' ul-Qays fled to al-Mundir, the king of al-Hīra. When Imru' ul-Qays came with his 500 Ḥimyarites and his other troops to attack Asad, he met, not only according to Ibn Haldūn but according to all the authorities cited in Ag. VIII: 70<sub>14</sub>—71<sub>5</sub> (see above, p. 104), a far more dangerous enemy, namely al-Mundir, who hunted after Imru' ul-Qays with horsemen from the tribes of Iyād, Bahrā', and Tanūḥ and a detachment of Persian cavalry, which had been placed at his disposal by Anūšīrwān. Before this superiority of force the Ḥimyarites as well as his other confederates deserted Imru' ul-Qays. Only a band of people of the family of Ākil al-murār remained and with these and part of his property, among other things five coats of mail, which had descended from father to son among the Kindite kings of the family of Ākil al-murār, he succeeded in escaping al-Mundir. According to Ibn Ḥaldūn II: 275 before this a fight was fought, in which Imru' ul-Qays was wounded. Ibn Qutayba, Ši'r p. 44<sub>11</sub>, fixes to the time of this expedition of al-Mundir against Kinda the capturing of 18 princes, who were executed in Gafr al-amlāk, evidently another version of the account, cited above (p. 67) of the fights, when al-Hāriṭ was overthrown. Cf. further Yāqūt II: 648.

Al-Ya'qūbī I: 249 f. has an account, differing in several points, of the events in al-Yaman and the second expedition against

Asad. After a time of revelry among his tribesmen in the south Imru' ul-Qays is brought to his senses by some verses of 'Abīd b. al-Abras (Fragm. 8), which an unknown Asadite recites, and asks his friends for assistance. With 500 men of the tribe of Madhiḡ he marched to the country of Ma'add and killed the chief of Asad, al-Aṣqar b. 'Amr. But the tribes of Ma'add pursued him, and his companions deserted him. When he heard that al-Mundir in al-Hira had sworn to kill him, and as he did not dare to return to al-Yaman, he took refuge with the chief of Iyād, Sa'd b. ad-Dabāb, governor over a part of al-'Irāq under the king of Persia.

It is at once clear that the situation in Naḡd had changed during the time Imru' ul-Qays remained with the Ḥimyarites to obtain assistance for a second expedition against Asad. Al-Mundir actively interferes in the struggles within the ancient kingdom of Kinda. His influence stretches as far as to the heart of Naḡd, the country of the Banū Asad. In spite of the tradition, reproduced above, (p. 103 f.) of Ibn as-Sikkīt in *Ag VIII*: 70<sub>9</sub>, according to which the sons of al-Ḥārīt and their dominion had fallen before the flight of Imru' ul-Qays to the Ḥimyarites, it is most natural to think that during his stay in South Arabia, which was certainly rather long, the battle of al-Kulāb as well as al-Mundir's war of extermination against the princes of Kinda, which was posterior to that, took place.

A time of exile now began for Imru' ul-Qays, during which he was kept busy saving himself and some faithful companions from al-Mundir and his people, and had to let his plans for vengeance against the Banū Asad rest. We will not follow him on his paths which the traditions, unanimous on the whole, in *Ag VIII*: 70 ff., Ibn Qutayba *Ši'r* p. 44 f., and al-Ya'qūbī *I*: 250 make him take in one direction after another among the Arabian tribes of Iyād, Tayyī', Ġadila, Nabhān, and others amidst incessant adventures, which have been reflected in his poems, as that would be going beyond the bounds, indicated above, of this work. We will only bring to the fore one name from the series of more or less casual protectors of Imru' ul-Qays, namely that of al-Mu'alla b. Taym of Gadila, whose praise he sings in *Diw.* 60.

كَأَنِّي إِذْ نَزَلْتُ عَلَى الْمُعَلَّى      نَزَلْتُ عَلَى الْبَوَاذِخِ مِنْ شَمَامٍ  
 فَمَا مَلِكُ الْعِرَاقِ عَلَى الْمُعَلَّى      بِمَقْتَدِرِ وَلَا الْمَلِكِ الشَّامِيِّ  
 أَصَدَّ نَشَاصَ ذِي الْقَرْنَيْنِ حَتَّى      تَوَلَّى عَارِضَ الْمَلِكِ الْهَمَامِ  
 أَقَرَّ حَشَى امْرِئِ الْقَيْسِ بْنِ حُجْرٍ      بَنُو تَيْمٍ مَصَابِيحُ الظَّلَامِ

When I have settled down with al-Mu'alla, it is as if I had settled down on the heights of Šamām.

The king of al-'Irāq has no power over al-Mu'alla, nor has the Syriac king.

He diverted Dū-l-Qarnayn's towering clouds, till the brave king's clouds retired.

Taym, the lights in the dark, soothed the agony of Imru'ul-Qaysb. Huḡr.

In this poem Imru'ul-Qays evidently states his own position during the days of exile after the fall of the kingdom of Kinda. For it was against the king of al-'Irāq, al-Mundir, called in the following Dū-l-Qarnayn, »the two-horned«, that Imru'ul-Qays sought protection, and we do not need at all to think, as WINCKLER does in *Arabisch-Semitisch-Orientalisch* p. 138<sup>1</sup>, either of al-Mu'alla as a mountain or of Dū-l-Qarnayn as the god of thunder, this latter name being a common name for al-Mundir.<sup>2</sup>

At last Imru'ul-Qays seems however to have understood that he was not safe any longer even in the highland of Ṭayyī' and to have made up his mind to go to the Greek emperor in Constantinople and try to obtain assistance from him to defeat his enemies. According to the Kalbitic tradition in Ag. XIX: 98, he stayed on his way with as-Samaw'al b. 'Ādiyā, who lived in the castle of al-Ablaq near Taymā', left his five coats of mail, his other property, his daughter Hind and, as care-taker, his cousin Yazīd b. al-Ḥarīṭ there, and went with a letter of introduction from as-

<sup>1</sup> *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 1901.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. HOROVITZ: *Koranische Untersuchungen* (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients, Heft IV) Berlin—Leipzig 1926, p. 111 f.

Samaw'al to the Ḡassānite al-Ḥarīṭ b. Abū Šamir in order to be sent forward by him to the emperor. Essentially in agreement with this are the versions of Dārim b. Iqāl in Ag. VIII: 72 and Ibn Qutayba, Ši'r p. 45<sub>15</sub>.

After having departed from as-Samaw'al, the next refuge of Imru' ul-Qays was to be the Syrian court, he according to al-Kalbī and Dārim (see above) having asked as-Samaw'al for a letter of introduction to al-Ḥarīṭ b. Abū Šamir. However, we never hear of any visit to the Ḡassānite. The tradition has nothing to say about the whole journey to Constantinople, but speaks immediately of his arrival there. Ag. XVI: 166, based on aš-Šaybānī, mentions however a companion, whom Imru' ul-Qays had on his way, called 'Amr b. Qamī'a and also a poet, whom Imru' ul-Qays according to Ag. l. c. had challenged to a competition, when visiting his tribe, Bakr b. Wā'il, and, charmed with his poems, had asked to accompany him on his journey. According to Ibn Qutayba, Ši'r p. 45<sub>15</sub> this companion was a servant of his father's, belonging to the tribe of Qays b. Ta'laba, whereas an-Nawawī, in Kitāb taḥḍīb al-asmā' p. 164, which passage is based on Muḥammad b. Sallām, makes him a tutor, whom the father of Imru' ul-Qays had given him.

That, indeed, 'Amr b. Qamī'a accompanied Imru' ul-Qays on his journey is to a certain degree certified by the agreement, though slight, between his two poems<sup>1</sup>, 14 and 16, and Imr. Diw. 20: 20, 21, 43, 44, where Imru' ul-Qays speaks about his companion:<sup>2</sup>

أرى أم عمرو دمعتها قد تحدرت	بكاء على عمرو وما كان أصبرا
إذا نحن سرنا خمس عشرة ليلة	وراء الحساء من مواقع قيصر
بكي صاحبي لما راى الدرب دونه	وأيقن أنا لاحتقان بقيصر
فقلت له لا تبك عينك إنما	نحاول ملكا أو نموت فنحدر

<sup>1</sup> The poems of 'Amr, son of Qamī'ah, ed. LYALL, Cambridge 1919.

<sup>2</sup> This agreement may further be considered to form a support for the journey really having taken place.



I see how the tears of the mother of 'Amr flow for the sake of 'Amr. And how persevering he was,

When we travelled for 15 nights and crossed the sandy deserts within the territory of the emperor!

My companion wept, when he saw the mountain pass before him and understood that we were going to the emperor.

Then I said to him: Do not weep! We only aspire to a kingdom or to death, and (in the latter case) we are pardoned.

From all the geographical names, mentioned by Imru' ul-Qays in Diw. 20, we might form a rather good idea of which way he travelled. To begin with, the journey no doubt went straight towards the north, through Ḥawrān, probably to Damascus, though this town is not mentioned, and then further on to Ba'labakk and Ḥimṣ, where a certain Ibn Ġurayḥ disappointed his expectations (v. 51).

لقد أنكرتني بَعْلُكَ وأهلها      ولأبن جَرِيحٍ كان في حِمصٍ أنكرًا

Ba'labakk and its people did not know me. Nor Ibn Ġurayḥ, who was in Ḥimṣ.

Then he crossed the Orontes, passed the town of Ḥamāt, situated on this river, and Šayzar (v. 40).

تَقَطَّعُ اسْبَابُ اللَّبَانَةِ وَالْهَوَى      عَشِيَّةَ جَاوَزْنَا حَمَاءَ وَشَيْرَا

The ties of yearning and love were rent that evening, when we passed Ḥamāt and Šayzar.

After that he speaks only of the mountains that had to be crossed and says nothing of the journey through Asia Minor. 'Amr b. Qamī'a may possibly furnish the name of Sātidamā (XVI: 2), which is supposed by the geographers to be a mountain, but nothing certain is known about its position.

About his actual reception by the emperor and his stay at Constantinople Imru' ul-Qays himself is almost quite silent. The Arabian traditions are however well informed. Dārim relates in Ag. VIII: 73 that he was received very well and most creditably and was treated with great respect. He asked the emperor for



assistance against his enemies and got his promise to help him. Before he left, however, a man of Asad, called at-Tammāḥ, whose brother Imru' ul-Qays had killed, came to Constantinople. He began to spread evil reports about Imru' ul-Qays, and when the emperor had sent away the latter with a great army, in which there were also several princes of the blood, people said to him: »The Arabs are perfidious, and it is feared that, if this man gains his end, he will turn against you the troops that you have put under his command.« Ibn al-Kalbī criticizes in *Ag.* VIII: 73,<sup>18</sup> Dārim's account and tells us that it was at-Tammāḥ who said to the emperor: »Imru' ul-Qays is a lewd man, who, after having marched away with the army, now says that he has had connection with your daughter, and has even composed verses with regard to this to the disgrace of you and your daughter.«

As referring to this love-affair Fr. RÜCKERT<sup>1</sup> quotes *Diw.* 52: 33, 34, 36—38. But these verses form no evidence of an amour in Byzantium. They might very well refer to an earlier event. Ibn Qutayba, who in *Ši'r* p. 46,<sup>12</sup> agrees with the narration of Dārim in *Ag.* VIII: 73, has admitted the story of Imru' ul-Qays and the princess into *Ši'r* p. 39,<sup>16</sup> and gives further a little detail regarding the stay at Constantinople that however bears no trace of veracity. He makes Imru' ul-Qays be present at the Roman bath in company with the emperor and on account of the latter not being circumcised pronounce two verses that are found in *Diw.* 26. In *Ši'r* p. 46,<sup>15</sup> Ibn Qutayba puts into the mouth of Imru' ul-Qays two verses that might refer to his stay at Constantinople. In *AHLW.* they are admitted into *App.* 5: 4—5.

وَنَادَمْتُ قَيْصَرَ فِي مَلِكِهِ      فَأَوْجَهَنِي وَرَكِبْتُ الْبَرِيدَا  
إِذَا مَا أَرَدَحَمْنَا عَلَى سَكَّةٍ      سَبَقْتُ الْفَرَانِقَ سَبَقًا شَدِيدَا

And I was a drinking-companion of the emperor's in his empire, and he elevated me and I travelled with mail-horses.

Every time we thronged on a road, I came far in advance of the guide.

<sup>1</sup> AMRILKAIS, *der Dichter und König*, Hannover 1924, I: 3.

However, the prince of Kinda had got his army and had started on his way to his goal. The emperor then sent after him, continues Dārim in Ag. VIII: 73<sub>20</sub>, a festal robe, sewn in gold but poisoned, with the exhortation to wear it as a token of imperial grace. But as soon as Imru' ul-Qays had put it on, his body became covered with boils, for which reason he was called Dū-l-qurūh »the man with the boils.» Just as he has been called »al-Malik ad-dillil» on account of his incessant wanderings.

This account is met with in a slightly different form also in Ibn Qutayba, *Ši'r* p. 39 and 46, al-Ya'qūbī I: 251, Ibn Badrūn p. 117 and 120 and Ibn Haldūn II: 275 and 276. Often the Asadite at-Tammāh takes active part in preparing or delivering the robe of Nessus.

In Diw. 30: 13 Imru' ul-Qays mentions at-Tammāh as the cause of his suffering, which would well agree with the opinion that he owed the emperor's displeasure to him.

لَقَدْ طَمَحَ الطَّمَّاحُ مِنْ بَعْدِ أَرْضِهِ      لِيَلْبَسَنِي مِنْ دَائِهِ مَا تَلَبَّسَا

At-Tammāh has hurried to come here from a far country to bring upon me the same evil that has fallen to his lot.

In verse 1 of the same poem, however, he speaks of his »old evil», which would presuppose that the disease that descended on him on his way back from Constantinople had nothing to do with his stay there.

تَأْوِبَنِي دَائِي الْقَدِيمُ فَعَلَّسَا      أَحَازِرُ أَنْ يَرْتَدَّ دَائِي فَأُنْكَسَا

My old evil visits me in the night and towards the morning. I fear that it will return and that I shall be overthrown.

There is however also another verse, Diw. 65: 6, which probably refers to the illness of Imru' ul-Qays.

فَإِمَّا تَرِينِي فِي رِحَالِ جَابِرٍ      عَلَى حَرَجٍ كَالْقَرِّ تَخْفِقُ أَكْفَانِي

And if thou seest me in the saddle of Ġābir, on a litter like a bed on a camel's back, which makes my garments flutter, (etc.)

His sickness increased, continues the tradition, and having got to Anqirā (Angora) in Asia Minor, he felt the approach of death and sang the song, Diw. 28, which, according to Ibn al-Kalbī in Ibn Qutayba, *Ši'r* p. 40, was the last he uttered.

رُبَّ طَعْنَةٍ مُتَعَجِّرَةٍ      وَجَفْنَةٍ مُتَحِيرَةٍ  
وَقَصِيدَةٍ مُتَخِيرَةٍ      تَبْقَى غَدًا فِي أَنْقَرَةٍ

Many a straight thrust of the lance  
Many an overflowing drinking-vessel  
Many an excellent qaṣīda  
Will to-morrow remain at Anqira.

Dārim in *Ağ VIII*: 73 and Ibn Qutayba, *Ši'r* p. 47<sub>13</sub>, have one more detail from his death. At Anqira there had once died a Roman princess, who had been buried at the foot of a mountain in the neighbourhood, called 'Asīb. Imru' ul-Qays caught sight of her tomb and addressed to her a couple of verses that are to be found in *AHLW.* as App. 3.

أَجَارَتْنَا إِنْ الْخُطُوبَ تَنُوبُ      وَأَنَا مُقِيمٌ مَا أَقَامَ عَسِيبُ  
أَجَارَتْنَا إِنْ غَرِيَّانِ هَهُنَا      وَكُلُّ غَرِيبٍ لِلْغَرِيبِ نَسِيبُ  
فَإِنْ تَصِلُنَا فَالْقَرَابَةُ بَيْنَنَا      وَإِنْ تَصْرَمِينَا فَالْغَرِيبُ غَرِيبُ

Oh, my neighbour, grave things are approaching, and I will stay (here) as long as 'Asīb will remain.

Oh, my neighbour, we are two strangers here, and every stranger is related to another stranger.

And if thou wilt have intercourse with us, there will be intimacy between us, but if thou wilt break off the connection with us, the stranger will remain a stranger.

And then he died and was buried beside the foreign prince DE SLANE<sup>1</sup> relates that in a notice regarding Imru' ul-Qays «ms. ar. 490 de la Bibl. du roi» it is said that the Greeks raised a statue over Imru' ul-Qays, as they used to do, when they wished to honour someone. This statue the caliph al-Ma'mūn said to have seen at Anqira.

It is impossible to decide, how much truth there is in the Arabian narratives of the journey to Constantinople. No doubt Imru' ul-Qays really applied to the emperor, al-Mundir's enemy. What proves that this was the case are the poems of Imru' ul-Qays, especially Diw. 20, for the Greek sources do not help us. Among the Arabian chiefs that have visited Constantinople certain Kázisos, lord of Kinda and Ma'add is mentioned by both Procopius and Nonnosus. He has often been identified — first by CAUSSIN DE PERCEVAL<sup>2</sup>, — with Imru' ul-Qays, the prince of Kinda, in which way apparently strong evidence for the truth of the presumption that the latter has really been in Constantinople has been obtained. We will now examine this identity more closely. Procopius<sup>3</sup> relates quite briefly, i. e., that when Ἐλλησθαίος was king of Αἰθίοπες and Ἑσμοφαίος of the Ὀμηρίται Justinianus sent to them a messenger, called Julianus, asking them to help the Romans against the Persians. The Ὀμηρίται were to make the exiled Kázisos chief of the Μααδδῆνοι and together with them to invade Persia with a great army. It is said of this Kázisos that he belonged to the family of the chief, and had distinguished himself in expeditions of war, but having killed a relative of Ἑσμοφαίος he had fled to a desert land. In spite of the promises of the two kings this plan came to nothing, and Procopius got nothing more to relate about Kázisos. This embassy is clearly dated before the death of king Qubād of Persia, which happened in the year 531.

Nonnosus has, no doubt, the same Kázisos in mind. He says, he was sent by Justinianus to the Αἰθίοπες, the Ἀμερίται and the Σαρακῆνοι, when Kázisos, a descendant of Ἀρέθας, was chief of the latter people. His grandfather had been sent by Anastasius to Ἀρέθας for the purpose of concluding a peace, and his father

<sup>1</sup> Amro'lka's, p. 28, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes, II: 317.

<sup>3</sup> De bello persico I, chapter 20.

Ἀβράμης by Justinianus to Ἀλαμούνδαρος, chief of the Σαρακῆνοι, to set free two captive Roman generals. This Κάϊσος, says Nonnosus, ruled over the two most famous tribes of the Σαρακῆνοι, that is to say the Χυδῆνοι and the Μααδῆνοι. The father of Nonnosus had previously been sent to him to conclude a peace and had brought his son, Μάβις, with him as a hostage to Justinianus. Nonnosus had now been charged with the commission of trying to take Κάϊσος himself to the emperor and of visiting the king of the Αὐξουμήται, who was then Ἐλεσβαῆς. But another embassy under Ἀβράμης was according to Nonnosus necessary in order to induce Κάϊσος to leave his own dominion to his brothers Ἀμβρος and Ἰεζίδος, and to go to Byzantium to receive from the emperor the governorship of Palestine, whither he took with him a great many of his subjects.

We do not get any chronological information here apart from that given by Procopius, especially as, like DILLMAN<sup>1</sup>, we identify Ἐλλησθεαίος in Procopius with the more correct Ἐλεσβαῆς in Nonnosus. (See also The book of the Himyarites, Introd. p. XLII). That this embassy of Nonnosus was of a later date than that of Julianus and, more precisely, did not take place until after the year 536, DILLMAN<sup>2</sup> tries to prove. Κάϊσος would then in the meantime have become chief of Kinda and Ma'add. This is the easier to presume, as then the Himyaritic vassal under Ἐλεσβαῆς, who is not even mentioned by name by Nonnosus, was undoubtedly no longer Ἐσιμφαίος, with whom Κάϊσος was at blood-feud, but either Abraha or, more probably, his antagonist Ἀγγάνης or Aryāt (see DILLMAN<sup>3</sup>).

The first difficulty about the identification is offered by the name of Κάϊσος. Imru' ul-Qays otherwise corresponds to Ἀμορκῆσος; Ἀρέθας, to whom Anastasius had sent negotiators for peace, is on the other hand easily recognized as al-Hārīt, the grandfather of Imru' ul-Qays. That Κάϊσος was exiled at the time of the embassy of Julianus, just before the year 531, may well apply to Imru' ul-Qays, but Procopius declares that this exile was dependent on his enmity with the South Arabian vice-roy Ἐσιμφαίος.

<sup>1</sup> Zur Geschichte des axumitischen Reichs im vierten bis sechsten Jahrhundert. Abhandlungen d. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin 1880, Berlin 1881, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 42 f.



Strongly in opposition to the Arabian tradition is the statement of Nonnosus that Κάζιος ruled over Kinda and Ma'add, and that too for a long time, as Ἀβράμης, the father of Nonnosus, during one embassy before and one after that of his son, has evidently had to do with a ruler, rather firm in the saddle, who on the latter occasion could leave his dominion to his brothers, while he was entering on his office of governor of Palestine. One thing also worth observing are the very different motives that induce the Imru' ul-Qays of the Arabians and the Κάζιος of Nonnosus to undertake their journey, as well as the great difference in the result of this journey. In one case a lonely fugitive, who succeeds in getting introductions and an audience with the emperor in order to solicit assistance against his enemies, in the other a powerful chief, who by means of several successive embassies is induced by the emperor to enter the service of Byzantium, and then brings with him to his new kingdom a great suite of tribesmen. To judge from everything, Κάζιος also entered on his governorship, whereas Imru' ul-Qays had to die in Asia Minor on his way back from Constantinople.

An investigation into the possibility of recognizing some other Arabian prince, especially one called Qays, in this Κάζιος is of the greatest importance for settling the question of the identity of Imru' ul-Qays with Κάζιος in Nonnosus and Procopius. Such an attempt has been made by GLASER<sup>1</sup>, who does not even mention Imru' ul-Qays in this connection. He decides on a certain Qays b. Ma'dikarib, who according to tradition was father of al-Aš'at, who embraced al-Islām and ruled over Kinda in South Arabia. GLASER has however to intercalate at least one generation between al-Aš'at and Qays in order not to get a chronological contradiction. That may of course be done, but what is worse is that in this Qays we cannot see a descendant of any Ἀπέθας, with whom Byzantium negotiated. In Nonnosus Κάζιος is a member of the dynasty of Ākil al-murār, whom the Romans knew as their confederates (see above p. 66) and would have liked to see again at the head of the tribes in Naḡd, a wish that Julianus (according to Procopius) expressed in his embassy.

<sup>1</sup> Zwei Inschriften, p. 70 ff.

In order to find a descendant of al-Ḥarīṭ called Qays we search in vain the Arabian biographers, chronologists and genealogists. But, strange enough, we find in the geographical dictionary of Yāqūt, II: 648, a name that seems to be suitable. In the article on Dayr Banī Marīnā a certain Qays b. Salama b. al-Ḥarīṭ b. 'Amr b. Ḥuḡr Ākil al-murār is mentioned who, accordingly, would be a cousin of our Imru' ul-Qays and a son of the prince of Taglib, Salama. It is said of him that he attacked Du-l-Qarnayn al-Mundir b. an-Nu'mān b. Imri' il-Qays b. 'Amr b. Adī, defeated him, and forced him back into his castle of Hawarnaq. This al-Mundir is evidently the king of al-Ḥīra (dead in 554), as he is said to have had two sons Qābūs and 'Amr by an aunt of Imru' ul-Qays called Hind, whereas the third son, al-Mundir, was not yet born. This expedition of war, made by Qays, is said to have taken place in the year before the capture of the princes (here 12) that were executed in the country of the Banū Marīnā, when according to this account Imru' ul-Qays fled on a red horse and then composed Diw. 62 (see above, p. 65) on his unfortunate kinsmen. Whether al-Mundir's vengeance then falls also on Qays b. Salama is not told, but it is however not impossible that he escaped. To attach any historical importance to this Qays b. Salama, who is otherwise quite unknown to tradition, is too daring. It is however interesting that if Qays b. Salama were really identical with the Κῶσιος in Nonnosus, Yazīd, the cousin of Imru' ul-Qays (see above, p. 108), would, taken as another son of Salama, easily be identified with Ἰεζίδος, one of the two brothers, to whom Κῶσιος, according to Nonnosus, left his dominion.

It remains for us to try to answer the question of the time of the journey to Constantinople and of the death of Imru' ul-Qays. That his journey to the emperor took place before the year 554, when al-Mundir died, DE SLANE<sup>1</sup> has proved, supported by the story of the friendship between Imru' ul-Qays and 'Amr b. al-Mundir, a weak support, indeed (see above, p. 103). All further dates must remain rather uncertain, if we do not want to identify Imru' ul-Qays with the said Κῶσιος, who according to GLASER<sup>2</sup> may have entered on his office in Palestine in 534

<sup>1</sup> Amro'lkais, p. XXII.

<sup>2</sup> Zwei Inschriften, p. 125.

or 535. If we do not want to assume this identity but wish to try to fix the last journey of Imru' ul-Qays without any interference from it, we have to start from the years, when his father and uncles died. We have presumed that the battle of al-Kulab took place as early as in the thirties of the sixth century. Imru' ul-Qays can hardly have been hunted by al-Mundir for many years, before, after a short stay with as-Samaw'al near Taymā', he arrived with the emperor Justinianus, probably before the year 540. If his stay there lasted, as is generally assumed, for a year or possibly some years, we might fix his death to the year 540 or perhaps a little later. The monument on his tomb (see above, p. 114), which would certainly have given us a reliable date, has unfortunately not been found. That there was such a monument even in the time of the caliph al-Ma'mūn (809—813) is far from certain, in fact not even probable. On the whole, we have no positive evidence whatever with regard to the death of Imru' ul-Qays. Manner and place belong entirely to the legends, and the date can only be approximately stated by conjectures.

### Corrigenda.

- P. 7 l. 35 read funūn  
 » 10 » 30 » for  
 » 17 » 6 » Fihrist  
 » 21 » 18 » someone  
 » 35 » 33 » Kalbitic  
 » 36 » 10 » al-Ḥigāz  
 » 41 » 30 »  
 » 41 » 34 » al-Baḥrayn  
 » 55 » 13 » Persian  
 » 55 note 1 read other  
 » 55 l. 29 read al-Basūs  
 » 56 » 19 » Ma'add  
 » 57 » 31 » provinces<sup>1</sup>. Compare  
 » 57 note 1 read Rasmussen  
 » 59 l. 5 read Arabs of  
 » 60 » 29 » however very  
 » 62 » 16 » an invasion  
 » 62 note 2 read verse  
 » 62 » » » al-Ḥārīt's mu'allāqa  
 » 65 l. 35 read 653  
 » 66 » 10 » al-Malik  
 » 69 » 27 add (see below p. 76)  
 » 73 » 2 read an-Namir  
 » 74 » 15 » 'Abd Manāt  
 » 74 » 32 » west  
 » 82 » 37 » al-Basūs  
 » 108 » 12 » Qays b.

The cases, where signs, used for the transcribing of the Arabian names, have been lost, are not enumerated here.

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